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I.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

V¹.

38. In the year 1908 one of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, at that time resident in Madrid, purchased an inscribed metal tablet from a Spanish dealer in antiquities and presented it to the University Museum. The tablet, which measures 0,257 m. in width and 0,132 in height, contains the following inscription in the *scriptura actuaria*:

VE PVLICE VACATIO · SACRO · SANCTIVS ESTO VTI · PON
TIFICI · ROMANO · EST ERIT EAQVE MILITARIA · EI · OMNI
A · MERITA SVNTO DE AVSPICIS QVAEQVE AD EAS RES PER
TINEBVNT AVGVRVM IVRIS · DICTIO · IVDICATIO ESTO EIS
QVE PONTIFICIB · AVGVRIBVSQVE LVDIS QVOT PVLICE MA
GISTRATVS FACIENT · ET CVM · EI PONTIFIC AVGVR · SA
CRA PVLICA · C · G · I · FACIENT · TOGAS PRAETEXTAS HABEN
DI IVS POTESTASQ ESTO EI SQVE · PONTIFICIB AVGVRIB ·
Q LVDOS GLADIATORESQ INTER DECVRIONES SPECTA
RE IVS · POTESTASQVE ESTO

This will be at once recognized as a part of the famous *Lex Ursonensis* which was given by Julius Caesar to the new colony of Urso in Spain, the so-called *Colonia Genetiva Iulia Urbana*.

¹ The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, xxviii, 1907, pp. 450 ff., xxx, 1909, pp. 61 ff. 153 ff. and xxxi, 1910, pp. 25 ff.

orum, in 44 B. C. The text of this municipal law, so far as it is preserved, is engraved on four great bronze tablets now in the Museum at Madrid and is found in C. I. L., II, 5439 and Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*⁷, pp. 123 ff. The particular section here in question, the top of the last column of the first tablet, is also published separately as II, 5439 a, on the basis of a small tablet which E. Huebner, the editor of that volume, accepted as part of a genuine ancient duplicate, adding the comment, "non videtur dubitari posse, quin alio quoque loco atque Ursone exemplum legis quondam extiterit alterum". In publishing this duplicate he made it quite clear that he had never seen the original, but knew the inscription only from a photograph. This had

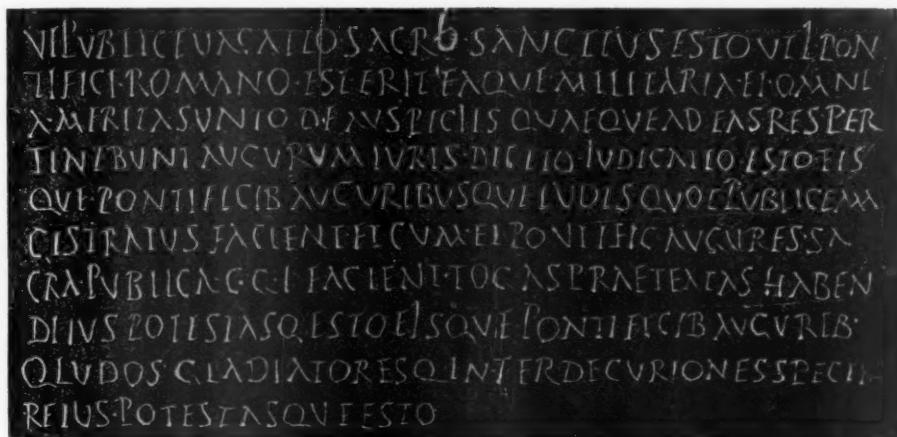


The Baltimore Tablet (C. I. L., II, 5439, a). Photographed by Schaefer, Baltimore.

been sent to him by a Spaniard named Celestino Brañanova of Oviedo, who bought the tablet in September, 1880, from one Goénaga, a dealer in antiquities at Burgos. That the tablet now in our collection is the same as that which came into the possession of Brañanova in 1880, is proved not only by the exact correspondence in text, size and other features, but also by the inscription in ink on the back of the thin piece of wood to which the metal is attached: "Adquirido en 1880 por C. B. Oviedo". After a careful examination of the tablet from every point of view, I feel quite sure that if Huebner had seen the inscription itself, he would at once have branded it as a modern copy, though a very accurate and skillfully made copy of a section of the genuine Madrid tablet. I shall therefore attempt to show why this record, which since 1892 has been accepted by almost all

scholars as one of a good ancient company, must henceforth be cast into the epigraphical outer darkness where every inscription bears the stigma of the asterisk.

The first point which counts against the genuineness and antiquity of the tablet is the fact that it has no assured history previous to September, 1880, when Celestino Brañanova bought it from Goënaga in Burgos. It is true that Goënaga said that he had obtained it a short time before in a village (unnamed) of the province of Palencia (far north of Urso) where it was hanging on a wall of the sacristy in the parish church. But this sounds very like the tale of an antiquity dealer, who either does not



A Part of the *Lex Ursonensis* (C. I. L., II, 5439). Photographed by Hauser y Menet, Madrid.

know or intentionally conceals the origin of the object which he desires to sell. On the other hand the real *Lex Ursonensis* was traced positively to the spot where it was discovered (C. I. L., II, p. 852).

In the second place the date of its first appearance is in itself enough to arouse suspicion. When the first of the important Roman bronzes of Spain, the *Lex Malacitana* and *Lex Salpensana*, were found near Malaga in October, 1851, their value was so little understood that the discoverers actually sold them by weight as old metal. Even twenty years later when the first two tablets of the *Lex Ursonensis* came to light near Osuna (1870-1) they aroused no great interest: they were bought, however, first by a citizen of Seville and after about a year by George Loring, who already possessed the Malaga and Salpensa tablets. But

in 1873 when the other two tablets of the *Lex Ursonensis* were offered to Loring, the price demanded was so exorbitant that he refused to pay it and compelled the finders to turn elsewhere. By this time they had gathered some idea of the real value of such inscriptions and, with the hope of securing larger prices elsewhere, offered the bronzes for sale in Paris and Berlin. The Berlin Museum was actually on the point of paying the money when Antonio Delgado, acting as special commissioner under the orders of the King of Spain, after much difficulty secured the prize for the Madrid Museum. This was in 1875. Only a year later growing interest was further quickened by the discovery of the *Lex Vipascensis*. Now, the fact that our tablet first appeared in September, 1880, following close upon the time of great enthusiasm and high prices, considered in connection with the absence of any clear account of its origin, militates strongly against its acceptance as a genuine ancient document.

Further than this, the Baltimore tablet is not even a genuine piece of ancient bronze, but is of copper and much thinner than the other tablets of the *Lex Ursonensis* and similar bronzes in Madrid, Rome and Naples: in fact, the letters actually stand out in relief on the back. When studied in detail, line by line and letter by letter, the text is seen to be an almost exact reproduction of a part of the genuine *Lex Ursonensis*. Even some scratches on the surface of the bronze are reproduced. The most striking difference between the original and the copy is the presence in the latter of a large number of small points of metal which stand in the grooves of almost all the letters. This circumstance led me to suspect that the small tablet was nothing but a reproduction made by some modern process—a suspicion which was at once confirmed when I consulted one of my colleagues, an expert in applied electricity.¹ The forger simply made an impression of the original in wax or some similar substance and by an electrolytic process produced the thin deposit of copper which for thirty years has passed as a genuine record of antiquity. It is therefore perfectly clear that this inscription, a modern copy made in 1880 or a little earlier, has no right to the place it occupies in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions.

¹ I am aware, of course, that W. Froehner denied the genuineness of C. I. L., II, 5439, a,—on what grounds I do not know. Cf. Eph. Epig., viii, p. 527.

39. Since the publication of the military inscriptions (A. J. P., xxx, 159 ff.) a large fragment of a *laterculus militum* has been added to this collection. In its greatest dimensions it measures 0,57 m. wide and 0,48 high and preserves the original straight edge for 0,28 m. on the left side and 0,25 at the top. Above the first line is a margin of 0,035 m. The line of the fracture at the bottom on the left fits exactly the top of a slab which is now in the Museum of the Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill and is described in C. I. L., VI, 32523, b. The text together with the necessary supplements taken from the other stone is as follows:

M AVREL	M F POL	BR			
M AVREL	M F QVI	DAS			
C IVLIVS	C F AVG	VALE			
M AVREL	M F FL	BATIORVS			
5 C VALERIVS	C F QVI	LONGINIAN	S		
M VLPIV	S M F AEL	VICTO R	MV		
M AVRELIVS	M F HAB	LYSIA S	GERM		
M AVREL	M F CAES	FALADVS	GERM		
M AVREL	M F SERG	NASIABVS	BER	COR	T
 10 7 VINICI ANNIANI					
FLAVIVS	T F VLP	FIRMINVS	SCVP	COMMODO	
M AVREL	M F VLP	VALERINV	POET	C D	
M AVREL	M F CL	AMABILIS	AGVNT		
T AELIVS	T F VLP	MAXIMVS	SCVP	SCRI	
15 M AVREL	M F VLP	MACEDONIAN	PAVT		
M AVREL	M F VLP	MAVRVS	PAVT		
M AVREL	M F ANI	EOTICVS	PISTO		
M AVREL	M F CL	AQVN A	PESSIN		
M AVREL	M F VLP	GEMELLIN	PAVT		

According to the story of the Roman owner of this inscription, it was found in the Campagna, but it seems far more probable that like the slab to which it belongs and like others of the same character it was discovered in the vicinity of the Praetorian Camp, not far from the junction of the via Goito and via Montebello where some excavations have recently taken place. This new text has already been printed by Dr. E. Ghislanzoni in

Notizie d. Scav., 1909, p. 81,¹ but as his copy, probably made in haste in a gloomy Roman shop, shows some inaccuracies, a few brief comments seem to be necessary.

Line 1. The last letter may be either I or L, for these letters, even when completely preserved, are very difficult to distinguish on this stone on account of the shortness of the base of L. Here, however, the right side of the letter at the base is lost in the fracture.

L. 2. The fourth letter of the cognomen is certainly A and the name is probably Dasas already known from other inscriptions, e. g., XIII, 7508, Bato Dasantis fil.

L. 4. According to Dr. Ghislanzoni the cognomen is Batidrus, whereas the stone seems to have Batiorus: still on account of the occasional similarity of D and O this may not be regarded as certain. Only in lines two and eleven is D so well made as to be beyond question; in line fifteen, however, D and O standing side by side are both rounded alike.

L. 5. After LONGINIAN the lower half of an S, overlooked by Dr. Ghislanzoni, is distinctly visible exactly in the perpendicular line of the initial letters of the local names. The town is therefore probably Scupi which, like other colonies² established by Vespasian or his sons, belonged to the *tribus Quirina*; cf. e. g., VI, 32640, l. 22, Valer(ius) C. f. Qui. Longinus Scup(is).³ The title Colonia Flavia Scupi in VI, 3205 bears witness to its establishment by one of the Flavian family and Colonia Aelia Scupi in VI, 533 seems to show that it was reorganized in some way by Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. The cognomen Ulpia seen in lines eleven and fourteen of this inscription suggests the probability that new colonists were introduced by Trajan as well.

L. 6. Both strokes of the lower part of R are seen below the fracture. The place is therefore doubtless Mursa in Pannonia, which usually appears as Colonia Aelia Mursa⁴, though Flavia Mursa does occur.⁵

L. 7. HAB in the tribal column is probably, as Dr. Ghislanzoni suggests, a graver's error for FAB, though I can scarcely

¹ It is given also by Cagnat in Rev. Arch., 1909, p. 511 (= L'ann. épig.), no. 210.

² Mommsen, Eph. Epig., III, p. 233.

³ Kubitschek, Imper. Rom. trib. descr., p. 238.

⁴ VI, 32640, ll. 29 and 43.

⁵ VI, 32624, l. 8.

agree with him that this mistake may have been due to the presence of HAB in the local column twenty-one lines below. At all events, if FAB is the correct reading, it gives at last the tribe of Germanicia,¹ which hitherto has appeared only as Caesarea Germanicia, e. g., l. 8 below and VI, 32624, c, l. 4 and d, l. 10. To which of the emperors it owed its title, it is impossible to say: perhaps to Augustus, who by virtue of his adoption belonged to the Fabian tribe,² though few of the Julian colonies outside of Italy were enrolled in this tribe.³ The Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus in Phoenicia, however, belonged to the *tribus Fabia* as is shown, e. g., by III, 169, 173; VIII, 4098; XII, 3072.

L. 8. The cognomen is read by Dr. Ghislanzoni as FALADVS, but on account of the similarity in form of D and O, above mentioned, as well as of E and F, it might equally well be read EALAOVS or FALAOVS. All things considered, the form FALADVS seems as likely to be correct as any other.

L. 9. If BER stands for Beryto, SERG is striking because, as pointed out above, Berytus belonged to the Fabian tribe. Cases are not unknown, however, where the tribal designation seems to belong to the individual rather than to his native town. For example in III, 1738, C. Egnatio C. f. Serg(ia) Marcello is written where *tribus Tarentina* would naturally be expected (Epidaurus) and in III, 6687, Q. Aemilius Q. f. Secundus, though a native of Berytus, is assigned to the *tribus Palatina*. Compare Mommsen's note on this point. The cognomen in this line, though read by Dr. Ghislanzoni as NASTABVS, should undoubtedly be read NASIABVS; for the cross-bar of T on this stone is always long enough to prevent confusion with I. The name Nasiabius, too, occurs in V, 4861.

At the end of this line is COR · T which belongs to the second column. After the T the base of a perpendicular stroke is clearly visible, apparently part of an R. The abbreviation doubtless stands for *cornicularius tribuni*.

¹ Unless it refers only to the tribe of the individual: see below on l. 9.

² Suet. 40.

³ Mommsen, Eph. Epig., III, p. 232.

L. 11. In VLP the loop of P was left uncut. On the *Colonia Ulpia Scupi* here and in line fourteen see remarks above on line 5.

For the second column the reading, supplied by the other slab (VI, 32523, b), is *Commodo iiii et Victorino cos.* The date is therefore 183 A. D.

L. 12. In the second column after C there remains the top of the next letter which was probably D.

L. 14. In the second column the letter following SCR is possibly I or may just as well be V, which is regularly made on this stone with strokes perpendicular at the top and rounded at the bottom with a broad curve. In the former case we should understand the word as *scriba* and recall VI, 999 in which *scribæ armamentari* make a dedication to Antoninus Pius in 138 A. D. If V be correct, *scrut(ator)*, an inspector, might be suggested as a possibility. This word occurs in III, 14357, 27 with reference to customs inspection and is discussed by W. Gurlitt in *Jahreshefte d. oest. arch. Inst.*, Beiblatt, II, 1899, 97.

L. 17. *Pistoriae* belonged to the *tribus Velina*:¹ hence ANI (*ensi*), like *Sergia* in line 9, must be explained as personal. In the case of freedmen especially this occasional discrepancy between the tribe of the individual and that of his native place is not difficult to understand.

L. 18. *Pessinus* belonged to the *tribus Velina*,² so that here again *Claudia* must be the tribe of the individual soldier. Cf. W. Kubitschek, *Wiener Stud.*, 1894, pp. 329 ff.

L. 19. The whole of P is preserved and parts of N preceding and AV following, but not the least trace of the T reported by Dr. Ghislanzoni. Of course Pautalia, which is usually abbreviated PAVT or PAVTA, is the place in question.

40. Small bronze tablet (*ansata*) from Rome, 0.21 m. wide and 0.125 high. At the left side is an upright palm branch and at the right a wreath. On the back of the tablet at the centre is a rough lump of lead with traces of iron rust. This of course held the nail by which the bronze was attached, probably to the foot of a bust or statue.³ Enclosed by a molded border

¹ C. I. L., XI, p. 298.

² C. I. L., III, 1818, 2710.

³ Compare the similar inscriptions on herms from Pompeii, e. g., that of Caecilius Iucundus now at Naples.

is the following inscription in letters of silver inset (*litterae incrustatae*):

GENIO
C G E R V L O N I
palma IANVARI *corona*
FORTVNATVS DECVR
GERVLORVM · SER

This inscription was published in C. I. L., VI, 30882 from an inaccurate copy made by Helbig,¹ who reported CERVIORVM · SER as the reading of the last line. But the tablet clearly and unquestionably has GERVLORVM with G in the form G which is so common in the latter part of the second century.² Exactly the same kind of G with long inward curve rising to the middle of the letter is seen in the first and second lines whereas the final curve of C in the second and fourth lines scarcely rises above the lower level of the letters. The L also is clear, though here as in the rest of this inscription the horizontal strokes are finer than the perpendicular. The silver has partially disappeared from the wreath as well as from a few letters, but for the most part is perfectly preserved.

C. Gerulonius Ianuarius, as his name indicates, was a freedman of the *collegium gerulorum* or, at least, his nomen was derived from that source. The name occurs also in VI, 19038, L. Gerulonius Phurus and ib. 19039, Gerulonia Maria. Other names of similar origin are V, 4422, Fabricius Centonius collegiorum lib(ertus) and VI, 27414, Tignuaria Victorina. Our Fortunatus decur(ialium) gerulorum ser(vus) is doubtless, as Dessau suggests, the same as Fortunatus decurialium gerulorum dispensator in VI, 360, who made a dedication to Iuno Lucina in the year 166 A. D. Most of the inscriptions of the *geruli* are collected in De Ruggiero, Diz. Epig., III, p. 524.

41. Tablet of white marble from the via Salaria, 0,385 m. wide and 0,18 high, with the usual holes at the ends for the nails, of which one is still preserved. The inscription, which is cut in

¹ Le Blant, Comptes-rendus de l'acad. des inscript., 1893, p. 211 and Rev. Arch., xxii, 1893, p. 268.

² Cf. A. J. P., xxx, p. 154 on inscription number seven of this series.

a somewhat vulgar style and clearly belongs to a comparatively early period, runs as follows:

DECVRIONVM · DECRETO
EX · DOMO · L · TARI · RVFI · AGRYPNO
MEDICO · MAGISTRO · EX · DOMO
QVINTAE · MATRIS · AGRYPNVS
ANN · NATVS · XXVI · OBIT · SEPTVMO
VICENSVMO · POSIT · MATER
CALAMITOSA · DE · SVO

This inscription, first published in Notiz. d. Scav., 1900, p. 574, came from a columbarium of one of the *collegia funeraticia* which were organized in many households, and the *decuriones* of the first line, as well as the *magister* of the third, are officials of such an organization. Cf. VI, 26032, ex domo Scriboniae Caesar(is uxoris) libertorum libertar(um) et qui in hoc monument(um) contulerunt.¹ The L. Tarius Rufus of the second line is probably the well-known consul suffectus of 16 B. C. who is called *homo locuples* by Seneca² and is mentioned by the elder Pliny and by Cassius Dio.³ The name Agrypnus is not very common but occurs as the name of slave or freedman in VI, 4032, 29513, 26240 and X, 5346. Quinta *mater* may possibly have been *mater collegi* which is practically the same as *patrona collegi*,⁴ but was probably in any case the mother of L. Tarius Rufus. Compare the use of *maternus (servus)* for slaves in the imperial household, as, e. g., in VI, 3935 and 4026. These private *collegia* were of course constituted after the model of the larger industrial *collegia* and had the same honors and official positions. In XI, 1355, for example, we find *patroni*, one of whom is *pater collegi*, *decuriones*, *medici*, and *matres* of the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum* at Luna.⁵ The archaic *posit* for

¹ See collection of material in Waltzing, Etude hist. sur les corpor. profess., III, p. 343.

² De clem., I, 15, 4.

³ Pros. Imp. Rom., III, p. 295.

⁴ Cf. Kornemann, in Pauly-Wiss., IV, 425.

⁵ Cf. De Ruggiero, Diz. Epig., II, p. 378.

posuit is not rare in the earlier inscriptions, being found, for instance, in I, 1282, 1298, 1436; IX, 3121 a, 3146, 3189. *Calamitosus* in the sense of *infelix* is good usage in Cato and Cicero, to say nothing of later writers, and appears in three inscriptions of Rome besides the one here in question, VI, 7908, 9570, 12011.¹

42. Block of travertine, 0,39 m. wide, 0,25 high and 0,10 thick, with the following inscription:

HOC · SOLARIVM · EST
 TI · CLAVDI · FLORI · CVM · SVO
 ITV · ACTV · ADITV · AMBITV · ACC
 ESSV · ET · AD · EOS · QVOS · EA · RE
 S · PERTINET · PERTINEBIT

The letters are deeply and carefully cut but their forms, especially the closed loop of P and the vulgar forms of A and L (A and K), suggest a date not earlier than the second century. *Solaria* were frequently constructed in connection with tombs² and were sometimes furnished with a roof for shelter.³ The owner in this case cannot be identified, though a Ti. Claudius Florus is mentioned in VI, 15069 and a Claudius Florus in VIII, 9079. The combination of *itus*, *actus*, *aditus*, *ambitus*, *accessus* seems to occur here for the first time in inscriptions. *Itus*, *actus*, *aditus*, *ambitus* are found together in VI, 8667, 10231, 10235, but this use of *accessus* is very rare, being seen in only two other inscriptions, namely in VI, 11027 *aditus*, *ambitus*, *accessus*, and in X, 1571 (Puteoli) *accessus* alone.⁴ The last two lines contain a formula so stereotyped that it could be represented in VI, 10562 by the initial letters, ei a. q. e. r. p. p. r. l., which stand for *ei ad quem ea res pertinet pertinebit recte liceto*.

43. Slab of white marble, 0,59 m. wide and 0,26 high, which was found in 1891 at Posillipo near Naples. L. Fulvio, who reported the discovery in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, p. 238, described the location thus: si rinvenne una tomba, in opere

¹ S. G. Harrod, Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship, Princeton Dissertation, 1909. Dr. Harrod, however, overlooked VI, 12011.

² E. g., C. I. L., VI, 5346, 10223, 10284, 25527; XIV, 3223.

³ Solarium tectum in VI, 10234.

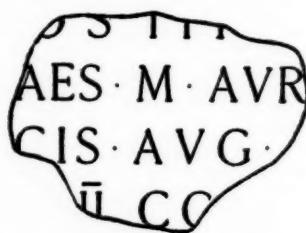
⁴ Olcott, Thesaur. Ling. Epig., s. v.

reticolata, di tufo, la quale era coperta da una lastra di marmo, spezzata in due, e mancante nella parte destra. This slab, which is now in Baltimore, has cut upon it the following inscription in rather small letters of the type ordinarily used in the calendars of the early empire:

SATVR · SÓLIS · LVNÄE · MÁRTIS ·
ROMÄE · CAPVÆ · CÁLATIAE · BENEV

Why Fulvio omitted in his copy the apices on MÁRTIS and CÁLATIAE, it is not easy to understand, because they are perfectly clear on the stone. At all events, his error was taken over into C. I. L., I¹, p. 218, which therefore needs correction in this particular. The inscription formed a part of one of the *fasti nundinales* with the days of the week in the first line and the names of towns in the second. Another inscription of the same class, which is now in the Naples Museum, may be seen in C. I. L., I¹, p. 218 and VI, 32505. The round holes, bored entirely through the slab, one over each word, were evidently intended to receive the nails or pins which indicated the time and place of the *nundinae*.¹ The worn surface of the marble around each of the holes marks where the circular head of the nail rested and at the time of the discovery showed also that the nails were of bronze.²

44. Fragment of grey marble, 0,27 m. wide and 0,22 high, which appeared in Rome in the year 1906. It bears the following part of a large imperial inscription in well-formed, deeply cut letters about five centimeters in height:



That we have here a portion of an inscription erected in honor of two emperors, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, is evident at

¹On the *nundinae*, consult Mommsen, St. R., II³, p. 887 and Daremberg and Saglio, s. v., p. 122.

²Fulvio (l. c.) says "scorgansi delle macchie circolari di ossido di bronzo".

a glance and the ending of *Felicis* before AVG indicates that the names were in the genitive case. Since the second acclamation of Caracalla as *imperator*, indicated at the bottom of our fragment, dates from the year 208 A. D. it is clear that the inscription was cut between that time and the death of Severus in 211. Whether it belongs before or after the accession of Geta cannot be determined. On the assumption that it belongs to the period immediately following Caracalla's second acclamation as *imperator* the missing parts may be restored in some such manner as the following:

Pro salute et incolumitate dd. nn.

Imp. Caes. L. Septimi Severi Pii
Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiab. Part. Max.
pont. max. trib. potest. xvi imp. xii
cOS III p. p. procos. et
Imp. cAES · M · AVReli Antonini Pii
Fel i C I S · AVG · tribunic. potest. xi
imp. II COs. iii procos. p. p.

45. Fragment of pavonazzetto from Rome, 0,13 m. wide and 0,23 high, with the following letters cut in a good style of the early empire:



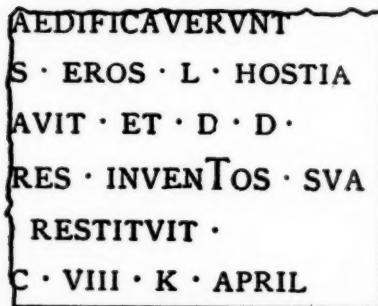
The letters are more than four centimeters in height and the inscription of which they formed a part was doubtless of a public character. The original edge seems to be preserved at the top and there is a margin of eleven centimeters in height above the inscription. The word partly preserved in the second line may be PROCOS and the letter which has left a trace at the bottom of the stone is probably either E or F, though T is not impossible.

46. Fragment of white marble from Rome, 0,17 m. wide and 0,12 high, with the following portion of an imperial inscription. The letters are six centimeters in height and were originally filled with metal, which has now disappeared.



These letters evidently formed part of the titles of an emperor. The first line may be partially restored as *tribunicia POTestate* and the second probably as *fortISSImus* or some other of the superlatives ordinarily used in such a connection.

47. Fragment of white marble, 0,195 m. wide and 0,14 high, roughly broken at the top and on the left side. The text of the inscription, so far as it is preserved, is as follows :



The letters are cut in a vulgar style of a rather late period. Before S at the beginning of the second line and before RESTITVIT in the fifth line traces of the preceding letters remain but their identity cannot be determined.

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II.—RELATIVE TEMPORAL STATEMENTS IN LATIN.

The time of one action is frequently given in its relation to another as a point of reference, and this point can be stated in various ways. Clauses introduced by temporal particles, with either the indicative or the subjunctive, receive the most attention, though this is only one of several modes of expression. Among the forms which may be used instead of the temporal clauses are the larger part of the ablatives absolute, as well as other cases of the participle both active and passive, many of the gerund forms in the ablative and also the accusative with a preposition as *ante* and *inter*, the ablatives expressing time, and no small number of nouns with accompanying participles associated with prepositions, especially *ad*, *ante*, *inter*, *post*, *secundum* and *sub*, and these also with some abstract nouns expressing activity.

Some of these are mentioned in treatises on the style of individual writers; e. g., Heynacher, *Sprachgebrauch Caesars im Bellum Gallicum* (ablatives of time, pp. 32-33); Lups, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Cornelius Nepos* (abl. abs. "über 220 mal," p. 183); Braun, *Statistik des Sprachgebrauchs Sallusts* ("der Abl. abs. erscheint an 270 Stellen," p. 62); Helm, *Quaest. Syntacticae de Part. Usu Tac., Vell., Sall.*, pp. 92 seqq.; Hasenstein, *De Syn. Amm.* (*post*, p. 46). There need be given but a single illustration that individual writers have preferences in the selection of these forms. Caesar uses *advenire* only B. C. 2, 32, 12, in the speech of Curio, *quod classem hostium primo impetu adveniens profigaverim?* but *ante adventum* three times, and *adventu* expressing time ten; and with B. G. 5, 54, 2 *adventu* in Galliam Caesaris cuiusque maiores regnum obtinuerant, may be compared B. G. 6, 12, 1 *cum Caesar in Galliam venit... erant*. For Livy, Fügner cites thirty-one occurrences of the present participle of *advenire*, nine with temporal particles, and sixty-one of *adventum* with *ad*, *ante*, *in*, *post* and *sub*, and sixteen of *adventu*. With *advenire* Tacitus has *postquam*, *ubi* and *donec* (twice each), *ante adventum* once, and *adventu* a dozen times.

Statistically considered the different divisions of temporal clauses, expressing antecedent, consequent, and contemporaneous actions are not of equal importance. Hullihen, *Antequam And Priusquam*, gives about 1800 occurrences of *antequam* and *priusquam* to the time of Suetonius. Compared with the occurrences of the particles meaning 'before' the proportion of the different classes for the same period would be in round numbers 'when' or 'after' 50, 'while' 5, 'until' 2, 'before' 3. Though these figures indicate the relative frequency of the particles with different meanings, they do not indicate the proportion of the different classes of actions. This is due partly to the tense used, partly to the effect of a negative in the principal clause. When *cum* is used with the imperfect subjunctive the

	Post- quam.	Postea- quam.	Total.	Ante- quam.	Prius- quam.	Total.
Cicero, Orations ^a	18	94	112	74	28	102
Phil. ^a	9	19	28	41	20	61
Rhet.	5	6	11	27	7	34
Epp.	25	68	93	61	35	96
Caesar ^b	13	9	22	2	17	19
B. G. VIII.; Bell. Al. ^c	3	1	4	0	9	9
Bell. Af.; Bell. Hisp. ^a	36	1	37	3	6	9
Nepos	35	9	44	0	32	32
Sallust ^d	89	2	91	1	14	15
Livy	428	4	432	97	308	405
Velleius	0	0	0	2	19	21
	661	213	874	308	495	808

^a Merguet; ^b Menge and Preuss; ^c Preuss; ^d Braun, Beiträge zur Statistik des Sprachgebrauchs Sall. im Cat. u. Jug.

continuative force of the tense often makes possible a classification either as 'when' or as 'while'. The effect of a negative is also noticeable. When one is used with the principal verb, an action known to have taken place becomes contemporaneous, and all such occurrences of 'not-before' and 'not-until' might with equal propriety be listed under either meaning. This however does not apply to non-occurring actions, as "he did not master the subject before he left school, nor afterwards". The negative also makes a contemporaneous action known to have taken place, either antecedent or consequent, as the facts may show, and a double classification is possible. However, the shifting of a few hundred or a few thousand examples from one list to another is a matter of little moment, for after all possible

shifting, the figures would still indicate that the clauses indicating antecedent action (as in English) are by far the most prominent in relative temporal expression, that contemporaneous actions are next, and that before-actions are of secondary importance. And this is true not only of the occurrences for the period given, but for a much larger number of the first three classes, for which the relative frequency is the same as it is to the time of Suetonius.

However, if we take into consideration only the occurrences in which the order of events is definitely indicated by *postquam*, *antequam*, or *priusquam* there is no great difference in the sum with finite forms of the verbs in the above writers.

The number given for *antequam* and *priusquam* would be materially increased by adding the occurrences with contrasted terms (see Hullihen, p. 101 seqq.), while to the other set might be added an equal number, especially from Livy and Velleius.

Postequam is characteristic of Cicero, and is used with some freedom by Caesar and Nepos. The two occurrences in Sallust, C. 2, 2; and J. 29, 3 have *postea vero quam*, as also Caesar B. G. 4, 37, 4. Livy has four examples: 9, 46, 11; 23, 19, 17; 26, 31, 7; 37, 53, 18. Nepos uses *postquam* freely, and with the occurrences are counted 3, 3, 3; 5, 3, 3; and 10, 10, 3 *post annum quam*, and 10, 5, 3 *post diem quam*, as also for Caesar B. G. 4, 28, 1. There is a rhetorical variation 3, 1, 5 *postquam Xerxes in Graeciam descendit, sexto fere anno quam expulsus*; and 16, 1, 3 *post Athenas devictas*; 23, 5, 3 *post rem gestam*; and 23, 6, 3 *post id factum*. Velleius, though avoiding *postquam*, has *post ann. quam*,¹ *quam*, and *post* with perfect participles, resembling Livy who has about 130 occurrences of these forms.

Cicero and Livy alone of these writers make a free use of *antequam* (*antequam* Cic. Deiot. 11, 30; ad Fam. 3, 6, 2; Livy 32, 11, 8; 35, 25, 3; see Thesaurus s. v.). Caesar has but two instances B. G. 1, 2, 2; and 3, 11, 1; see Hullihen, p. 95, note 231. Sallust uses it for variation J. 97, 4 *priusquam . . . antequam . . . quivit*. Nepos has only *priusquam* 36 times,² while

¹ 1, 8, 4; 1, 13, 1; 1, 14, 2; 2, 28, 2; 2, 44, 4: *quam* 1, 2, 1; 2, 80, 4: *post part.*, 1, 2, 1; 1, 3, 3; 1, 6, 6; 1, 8, 4; 1, 11, 1; 1, 14, 1; 2, 4, 2; 2, 4, 5; 2, 49, 1; 2, 53, 3; 2, 65, 2; 2, 86, 3; 2, 103, 3; 2, 122, 2; 2, 124, 3.

² 1, 5, 4; 2, 7, 3; 2, 8, 4; 3, 2, 1; 4, 4, 3; 7, 3, 1; 10, 4, 4; 10, 8, 5; 11, 2, 5; 12, 2, 2; 14, 5, 2; 14, 6, 1; 14, 9, 5; 14, 11, 3; 14, 11, 5; 15, 1, 1; 15, 2, 2; 15, 3, 3; 15, 3, 6; 15, 8, 5; 15, 9, 1; 15, 9, 2; 17, 2, 2; 17, 3, 2; 18, 3, 6; 18, 4, 2; 18,

Velleius nearly reverses this, with *priusquam* 1, 10, 2; and 2, 42, 3, but *antequam* 24 times.¹

A glance at the tabulated occurrences for post-classical Latin will show that the most prominent features are *cum* with the indicative or subjunctive, *postquam* with the indicative, *dum* meaning while with the same mood, *donec* meaning until and used as are *antequam* and *priusquam* with the subjunctive. At variance with these are numerous instances of individual preferences for other forms, and numerous instances of stereotyped formalism, yet this comparatively homogeneous syntax is the main product of the evolution from the heterogeneity in the forms of expression in the earlier period. It is only in the use of *antequam* and *priusquam* that there was no differentiation in the use of particles. Hullihen (p. 9) found thirteen examples of *antequam* to every fourteen of *priusquam*, but allowing for the occurrences of *priusquam* before *antequam* got a start the race was even. With both there was a steady movement toward the subjunctive which "became more and more common as the language grew older constantly invading the sphere held by the indicative in the early usage" (p. 16).

The simplification in the expression of contemporaneous action is clearly marked. Leaving out of account the few examples of *quamdiu*, *quoad* occurs much less frequently than either *donec* or *dum*; "wird im Ganzen nur selten gefunden, bei klassischen Dichtern fast gar nicht", Draeger 2, p. 615, § 510. Still the occurrence of *quoad vixit*, Horace, Sat. 2, 3, 91, shows that the word was a possibility for the writers of hexameter verse. After the time of Livy the occurrences are sporadic, excepting in Justinus (perhaps due to Trogus), in Ammianus Marcellinus, and especially in Appuleius chiefly with the subjunctive, and generally meaning until.

With *donec* the prevailing meaning is until, and the prevailing mood the indicative in poetry and the subjunctive in prose,

8, 6; 20, 3, 5; 23, 7, 6; 23, 11, 1; 24, 1, 1; 25, 21, 4; with contrasted terms 14, 3, 1; 14, 7, 1; 23, 1, 3; 25, 11, 6; as also *ante* indicating space 4, 5, 2 paucis ante gradibus quam qui eum sequebantur . . . configuit.

¹ 1, 7, 3; 1, 12, 7; 2, 28, 1; 2, 45, 5; 2, 62, 1; 2, 84, 1; 2, 87, 3; 2, 93, 1; 2, 112, 5; with *ann.* 1, 6, 4; 1, 8, 1; 1, 12, 6; 2, 49, 1; 2, 65, 2: *biennium* 2, 48, 2; 2, 54, 2: *triennium* 1, 13, 1; 1, 15, 3: *diem* 2, 30, 2: with contrasted terms 2, 24, 4; 2, 49, 3; 2, 104, 3; 2, 115, 5; 2, 129, 3.

though Juvenal and Juvencus have only the prosaic mood, the subjunctive, and Petronius only the indicative excepting 62, 15. Livy and Tacitus are not averse to its use with the meaning so long as, but it is rarely found elsewhere in prose, a few instances being quoted by Draeger 2, 615. Lucretius has one instance, but at least twenty-one with the meaning until, and always with the indicative excepting 1, 222; see Munro ad 1, 222; Edelbluth, *De Coniunctionum Usu Lucr.*, p. 61.

Excepting A. 11, 860:

et duxit longe, donec curvata coirent
inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,

Vergil has only the indicative with *donec*: the perfect B. 7, 85; G. 4, 312; A. 2, 630; 5, 698; 6, 745; 8, 326; 9, 443; 11, 803; 12, 354; the present A. 3, 558; and in the latter part of the *Aeneid*, 10, 268; 10, 301; 11, 201; the future G. 4, 413; A. 1, 273; and the future perfect A. 2, 719 d. me flumine vivo . . . abluero; and in the elliptical statement 2, 100 nec requievit enim, d. Calchante ministro. Sed quid ego . . . revolo?

In the Satires and Epistles of Horace the prospective view is given in the present subjunctive, reading *deserat* Ep. 1, 20, 10, though *dixerit* is found S. 2, 5, 97, as is *refeceris*, O. 3, 6, 2. The retrospective is regularly given by the indicative, though we find S. 2, 1, 73 *ludere, donec/decoqueretur holus, soliti*. The Odes have fewer examples, but more variety, for *donec* means so long as, O. 1, 9, 17 *abest*; 3, 9, 1 *eram*; 3, 9, 5 *arsisti, nec erat*; and with the meaning until, Ep. 17, 33 *ferar*; O. 3, 5, 45 *firmaret*.

In the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, *donec* means until excepting in 8, 712. In the other works it is not freely used, and means so long as in nearly half the passages: Am. 1, 27 d. *erunt*, a change from *dum* in other parts of the poem; A. A. 1, 503 *cum surgit, surges; donec sedet illa, sedebris*; Trist. 1, 1, 53 *eram*; 1, 9, 5 *eris*; 3, 6, 3 *licuit*; Ib. 43 *manebit*; Fast. 5, 343 *eras*.

The prevailing meaning of *donec* is until with the perfect indicative in Livy where the particle first rises to prominence. After him Tacitus receives special mention, though *donec* occurs more frequently in Pliny the Elder, in Celsus and Marcellus, the last two using the particle most freely, and nearly always with the subjunctive. With them its use is prescriptive, and frequent are the injunctions similar to "sextarius leni igne coquitur

donec ei mellis crassitudo sit", Celsus VI 10; and "decoques donec vinum consumatur", Marcellus Cap. XX 114.

A sketch of the differentiation of *dum* is given in the Archiv XI, p. 368 seqq. In addition to its temporal meanings, while, so long as, until, it had also a conditional restrictive meaning,—altogether too much of a burden for one particle to carry. As *quoad* 'until' was not freely used, it fell to the lot of *dum* to express terminal relations, but *donec* took its place after the time of Livy, though *expectare dum* still held its own. Taken as a whole this meaning is comparatively infrequent, the prevailing meaning being while with the indicative. Lucretius has the indicative with *dum* in twenty-seven¹ passages (Munro's edition) and meaning until only 1, 949; [4, 24]; 4, 1114; and with the subjunctive 1, 246; 1, 499; 1, 1045; 5, 700; 5, 976. *Dum*-proviso without *modo* is limited to 1, 435; 2, 657; 5, 1429. In Catullus this meaning of *dum* is limited to 55, 22; 114, 5 and 6. Elsewhere² the indicative is used to indicate both extensional and terminal relations. The tense is the present excepting in 44, 14 fugi; and in 66, 77, and the meaning while except with *usque*, in 44, 14, and 61, 161; and the five occurrences 'so long as' in 66, 77; 62, 45 and 56, though in the last two passages *dum...dum* are really correlatives = *quam diu...tam diu*. See Reed Syntax des Catull., p. 12; and compare Archiv XI, p. 344.

Sallust uses *dum* with considerable freedom (thirty times), Braun, p. 26, citing nineteen occurrences in the Catiline and Jugurtha, but giving only one for Cat. 50, 1. In Nepos the use of *dum* is restricted, as is usual in compilations. He has *dum geruntur* 14, 5, 1; 18, 5, 1; 23, 12, 1; *signatur* 6, 4, 2; *speculatur* 14, 4, 4; *tractat* 18, 5, 7; *studet* 12, 4, 2; but *studuit* 21, 2, 2; and *conficeretur* 23, 2, 4. The subjunctive is confined to 4, 3, 7 putabant...expectandum, *dum se ipse res aperiret*; 1, 3, 1 *dum ipse abesset*, custodes reliquit; and 20, 1, 4 *dum res conficeretur*, procul in praesidio. Compare Lupus, p. 155.

In late Latin (Archiv XI, 370), the subjunctive is found with *dum*, a usage the germs of which are found in the Augustan

¹ 1, 178; 1, 659; 1, 949; 2, 152, text doubtful; 2, 1125 (twice); 3, 68; 3, 576; 3, 707; 3, 1082; [4, 24]; 4, 92; 4, 280; 4, 358; 4, 559; 4, 612; 4, 629; 4, 955; 4, 1114; 5, 55; 5, 587 (twice); 5, 763; 5, 770; 5, 1100; 6, 302; 6, 1167; see Edelbluth, p. 60 seqq.; and compare Archiv XI, p. 344.

² 18, 12; 44, 9; 44, 10; 62, 45 (twice); 62, 56 (twice); 63, 57; 64, 145; 65, 22; 99, 1; 99, 5; 66, 77 fuit.

period. This meaning is clear for Vergil G. 4, 457 *dum fugeret*, but not for A. 1, 5 *dum conderet*. Livy has a few occurrences, see Mueller ad 1, 40, 7. To construe with the subjunctive was at variance with the tendency to concentrate on *dum* with the present indicative, and it did not readily gain a foothold. Some writers, as Orosius, hold to the normal construction, while others, as Ammianus,¹ incline toward the subjunctive. Sometimes this is purely imitative, for when the writer of the Epitome of Aurelius Victor I 23 wrote 'dum quidam miles oculos averteret', he had in mind Livy 1, 40, 7 *dum rex averteret*. The shift from *dum* with the present indicative to *dum* with the imperfect subjunctive is an interesting one showing the possibility of supplanting *dum* by *cum*, and lessening by one the temporal constructions. When it was felt that *dum esset* equalled *cum esset* there was no reason for using the former, and we should expect that it would not have made any headway against its stronger rival. It seems that it must have been in indirect statements that the two first struggled for supremacy, and *cum* was victorious.

Of the temporal clauses noticed in poetry nearly 4100 have *cum*, and 1400, or 34% *dum*; of prose occurrences 24000 have *cum*, and 4375 or 18% have *dum*, showing that poetry with its statements usually direct uses *dum* nearly twice as freely as does prose with its mixture of the direct and indirect. This is not true for all writers, for among the historians Sallust and Ammianus approach the poetic average, and Tacitus is above it. For some of the compilers; e. g., Nepos, Frontinus, Gellius, the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *cum* occurs from twenty to thirty-five times as frequently as *dum*, which is especially noticeable in the story of Petronius, and the Metamorphoses of Appuleius, giving an appearance of immediateness to what is told, and so a desirable factor in vivid portrayal. As we should expect, the proportion for Lucretius is low—5%; for Plautus nearly 35%; for Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Martial about 40%; for Statius Theb. 55%; and for Silius Italicus 70%, so that it was in spite of overstressing the use of *dum* that he still remained dull. There is the same general difference, if we take into consideration the occurrences of *cum*, *postquam*, *ubi* and *ut*. These in the mass examined occur nine times as frequently as *dum*, but in the poetry four

¹ H. Ehrismann, De Temporum et Modorum Usu Ammiano, Argent., 1886, p. 46 seqq.

times as frequently, in the prose slightly less than 16 times. These figures indicate that *dum* is an important factor in immediate descriptions, but of far less importance in retrospective narrative, though we should expect an equal prominence in the latter, if there had really been an exact representation of earlier forms.

In a majority of instances the indicative is retained within a subjunctive clause and in *oratio obliqua*. There is an occasional shift to the subjunctive, a fact of no significance when the sequence is primary, and for the times before the supremacy of *cum* with the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive had been established. It is true that the retention of the indicative seems to have been avoided by Cicero, though he does have it, ad Att. 12, 1, 1 *ut, dum consisto in Tusculano, sciam*. The number of occurrences of *dum* with the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* indicates that both Caesar and Cicero dealt with the indicative *dum*-clause the same as with any other clause. After these writers attraction to the subjunctive is not a common feature, *dum* apparently being displaced by *cum*.

Latin started with a superabundance of particles expressing antecedent actions, and the process of selection began early. *Quoniam* was one of the first taken as a causal particle, and but few instances remain where it expresses time. *Quando* followed *quoniam*, but was still occasionally used as a temporal particle, and some late writers take it up again, though its use by such a writer as Augustine may be nothing more than an indication that the word had been retained with temporal meaning by the descendants of colonists who were familiar with the early usage. *Quotiens* is one of the occasional particles, and Long, On the Usage with *Quotiens* and *Quotiencumque* in Different Periods of Latin, gives 1055 as the number of occurrences for the simple relative (p. 36), and 122 for *quotiencumque*. *Simul ac* or *simul* (*Archiv XIV*, pp. 89 seqq. 233, 524) is not freely used, so that the larger part of the expression of antecedent action was carried by *cum*, *postquam*, *ubi* and *ut*, with very noticeable differences in frequency of occurrence and in mode used in different spheres and by different writers, so that we may speak of the triumph of the fittest both of the particles and of the modes.

In Plautus the four particles are freely used, the proportion of *cum* to the other three being 55 to 45, and these figures nearly indicate the proportion for the entire poetical mass, though for

Lucretius the proportion is 78 to 22, and under the influence of the development of the usage with *cum*, a still stronger preference is shown for *cum* by Juvenal and by Martial. For the writers of the dactylic hexameter the choice of the different words was affected by metrical considerations, and for Vergil, Stat. Theb., and Silius Italicus, the occurrences of the two sets of particles are about the same.

The line of demarcation between poetry and prose is clearly drawn, for in the historians *cum* is used about three times as frequently as the other three combined. In Cicero's works the proportion is 27 to 1; in Seneca's 7 to 1, in Pliny's Epistles 8 to 1, and in Quintilian the triumph of *cum* is almost complete, as also in Cicero's rhetorical works. *Ubi* seems to have been freely used in early prose, at least it is found in Claudius, ap. Gell. 2, 19, 7; C. Titius, vir aetatis Luciliana, ap. Macr. 3, 16, 15; and Cato, ap. Plin. H. N. 17, 195. Livy, Sen. Phil., and Tacitus use it freely, and Celsus has it more frequently than the other particles. *Ut* is relatively the most frequent in Curtius, Petronius, and Suetonius, but after the latter its use noticeably declined, though there are more than a score of occurrences in Orosius. Livy, Tacitus, Orosius, and especially Cassius Felix, incline to the use of *postquam*, but with these exceptions its use was fairly even throughout, though it does not occur in Velleius Paterculus, its place being taken by *post* with noun and perfect participle. Occurrences of *postquam*, *ubi*, or *ut* with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* are not frequent, and give evidence of the victory of *cum* with the subjunctive by which they were supplanted.

The use of the temporal particles by different writers especially by the later compilers is not without interest. Largely without originality they adhered closely to the current norm, and the different accounts of the same or of similar events may be taken as a fair index of the equivalence of different forms of presentation. One of the best illustrations is from the accounts of the death of Epaminondas: Cic. de Fin. 2, 30, 97 *ut* primum dispexit, quae sivit; Nepos 15, 9, 4 *id postquam* audavit, inquit; Val. Max. 3, 2, 5 ext., quae postquam . . . conperit . . . inquit; Justinus 6, 18, 13 *ut* audavit . . . dixit; Orosius 3, 2, 8 *cum* . . . conperisset . . . patefecit. Compare also the account of the death of Hannibal in Nepos with that given later by Livy: Nepos Han. 12, 5 *puer cum celeriter, quid esset, renuntiasset . . . ostendisset,*

sensit id non fortuito factum : Livy 39, 51, 7 Hannibal, postquam est nuntiatum milites in vestibulo esse, postico . . . fugere conatus ; ut id . . . obsaeptum sensit . . . poposcit. Similar to these, Val. Max. 1, 1, 2 ext. Masinissa . . . ut comperit . . . reportandos . . . curavit ; and Cicero, Verr. 4, 46, 103, in *oratio obliqua*, ubi audisset . . . misisse, qui . . . reponerent. Cic. de Off. 3, 31, 112 quod cum audivisset adulescens filius . . . accurrisse Romam . . . dicitur : Val. Max. 5, 4, 3 id postquam Manlius adulescens cognovit, protinus urbem petiit. Cic. de Off. 3, 11, 49 quod Aristides cum audisset . . . venit dixitque : Val. Max. 6, 5, 2 ext. is postquam rem cognovit . . . processit et rettulit. Livy 29, 37, 8 cum ad tribum Polliam ventum est et praeco cunctaretur : Val. Max. 2, 9, 6 ut est ad Polliam ventum tribum praeco haesitavit. Justinus 5, 10, 1 cum exercitus eorum, ex quibus maior pars Atheniensium erat, fugeret, magna voce Thrasybulus exclamat : Orosius 2, 17, 12 Thrasybulus ubi vel maxime Athenienses esse intelligit, clamore consequitur. Justinus 1, 5, 8 cum adolevisset Cyrus . . . scribit : Orosius 1, 19, 6 sed Cyrus mox ut adolevit . . . certamen indixit. Sallust J. 79, 7 postquam Cyrenenses . . . vident et metuunt, criminari Carthaginenses : Val. Max. 5, 6, 4 ext. quod cum intellexissent Cyrenensium iuvenes . . . iniuriam discutere conati sunt. Livy 21, 58, 3 transeuntem Appenninum atrox adorta tempestas est : Orosius 4, 14, 8 cum in Etruria . . . transiret tempestate correptus . . . obriguit. Justinus 15, 2, 1 Cassander ab Apollonia rediens incidit in Autariatas : Orosius 3, 23, 36 Cassander . . . cum Apolloniam rediret incidit in Auieniatas. Justinus 15, 2, 17 cui cum Cassander interesse propter bellum non posset, Lysimachum . . . mittit : Orosius 3, 23, 42 Cassander finitimorum bellis implicitus Lysimachum . . . misit. Justinus 1, 8, 3 cum in Scythiam processisset, castra metatus est : Orosius 2, 7, 2 Cyrus Scythiam ingressus . . . castra metatus. Justinus 16, 1, 1 cum vitam . . . deprecaretur, occiditur : Orosius 3, 23, 50 Antipater Thessaloniken . . . pro vita precantem, manu sua transverberavit. Justinus 4, 4, 10 sed cum Athenienses . . . se transtulissent, Gylippus classem . . . arcessit : Orosius 2, 14, 15 quo cognito Gylippus classem . . . arcessit. Pliny N. H. 13, 42 cum haec proderem : 10, 120 and 124 me haec prodente. Justinus 5, 11, 8 sed cum in bello fors proelii utrumque fratrem pugnae obtulisset, Artaxerxes a fratre vulneratur ; quem cum equi fuga periculo subtraxisset, Cyrus oppressus . . . interficitur : Orosius 2, 18, 2 cum . . . casus obiectavisset, prior

Artaxerxes vulneratus a fratre equi velocitate morti exemptus evasit.

Justinus 2, 14, 3 postquam nullo pretio libertatem his venalem videt . . . transfert: Orosius 2, 11, 1 ubi inexpugnabilem eorum libertatem videt . . . deducit. Justinus 4, 4, 8 is auditio genere belli . . . loca occupat: Orosius 2, 14, 13 qui veniens ut audivit . . . loca occupavit. Justinus 9, 3, 4 ubi vero ex vulnere primum convaluit . . . bellum insert Atheniensibus: Orosius 3, 13, 9 statim vero ut convaluit Atheniensibus bellum intulit. Cic. de Sen. 13, 44 Duellium . . . redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer: Florus 2, 2, 10 cum Duillius . . . per omnem vitam, ubi a cena rediret . . . iussit.

The equivalence of different forms of statement of contemporaneous actions may also be shown. The senate decree in regard to the soldiers surrendered at Cannae is given by Livy 25, 7, 4 faceret quod . . . duceret, dum ne quis eorum munere vacaret, neu dono militari virtutis ergo donaretur neu in Italiam reportaretur, donec in terra Italia esset. Val. Max. 2, 7, 15 gives the last clause donec hostes in Italia essent; (Livy 27, 38, 5), while we find in Frontinus Strat. 4, 1, 44 dum Poeni in ea essent; but in a similar statement Val. Max. 7, 6, 1 quoad Poeni essent in Italia. Other instances of variation in statement will also be given: Vergil Aen. 2, 204 horresco referens: Orosius 5, 11, 4 ego ipse, dum refero, toto corpore perhorresco. Livy 21, 7, 10 dum murum incautius subit adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit: Frontinus 3, 17, 1 cum incautus muris succederet Hasdrubal, eruptione facta ceciderunt eum. Justinus 6, 7, 11 Epaminonda dum officio fungitur, graviter vulneratur: Orosius 3, 2, 7 Epaminondas . . . dimicans vulneratur. Justinus 8, 1, 1 Graeciae civitates, dum imperare singulae cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt: quippe in mutuum exitium sine modo ruentes omnibus perire, quod singulae amitterent, non nisi oppressae senserunt: Orosius 3, 12, 10 quippe Graeciae civitates dum imperare singulae cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt et dum in mutuum exitium sine modo ruunt, omnibus perire quod singulae amitterent . . . oppressae . . . senserunt. Sall. J. 93, 2 cum . . . peteret . . . ad summum montis egressus est: Frontinus, Strat. 3, 9, 3 dum . . . legit . . . ad summa pervenerat. Compare Livy 1, 7, 2 cum verbis quoque increpitans adieciisset, with Florus 1, 1, 8 dum angustias Remus increpat. Noticeable in Livy is the occasional shift from the well established *dum*

geruntur, to *cum gererentur*. Compare also; e. g., Justinus 9, 2, 11 dum obsidet, with Front. Strat. 1, 5, 7; 2, 9, 5; Val. Max. 1, 7, 8; 5, 1, 5; 7, 4, 3; Livy 8, 7, 1 cum obsideret. Suetonius, Julius Caesar 56 quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium cum ex citeriore Gallia . . . ad exercitum rediret; . . . novissimum dum ab urbe in Hispaniam . . . pervenit. Pliny N. H. 7, 181-185 is the best illustration of the interchange of *cum* and *dum*. Beginning nullis evidentibus causis obiere, he continues with *cum* and the imperfect subjunctive six times, with the pluperfect four, with *dum* and the present indicative six.

Somewhat curious are the variations in the statement of temporal clauses in the two traditions of Historia Apolloni Regis Tyri, showing at many points different translations of the same original. Here also may be mentioned the comparatively simple temporal phraseology in Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis who use *cum* much less freely than its rivals, and the latter avoids *ut* which is freely used by Dares.

The commentators on the poets occasionally express their views in regard to the temporal particles. Donatus, ad Ter. Eun. 1080 ubi velis, defines 'quando vel cum'; ad Eun. 1088 ubi vis accede, says 'quia accede imperativum erat, et ubi nisi quando intellexeris, vitium est'. Ad Phor. Prol. 1 nota postquam apud veteres non praeterito modo, sed etiam praesenti tempori adjungi; ad Adel. Prol. 1 postquam sensit 'pro sensisset'. Ad Eun. 792 cum tibi do, 'pro cum tibi darem'; ad Eun. 551 nunc est profecto, quom perpeti me possum, 'si cum coniuncte legeris, *quando* significat: si separatim vero, *dum* significat'. Ad Hec. 414 'dum alias dummodo, alias donec, nunc quamdiu'.

Servius, ad Verg. Aen. 11, 59 haec ubi dicta, defines *ubi* by *postquam*, as also ad 1, 714; and the Schol. Dan. ad 1, 81; and 3, 410; and ad 4, 118 and 143 states that *ubi* is for *cum*. *Ut* is also defined the same way ad B. 8, 41. Porphyron ad Hor. O. 3, 27, 69; and Ep. 1, 7, 73 says *ubi* equals *postquam*, but repeats it from Horace, ad O. 2, 1, 10, and also *cum* ad Sat. 1, 1, 86. Some of the comments on the contemporaneous particles are worthy of notice. Servius ad Aen. 2, 455 dum regna manebant, says 'dum' donec, alii tamen 'cum' legunt: sed 'cum manebant' quomodo dicimus, cum constet 'manebant' modum esse indicativum? hoc ergo sciendum est, quia, quando coniunctivus modus est, necesse est aliquid subiungi aut subaudiri, ut 'cum venirem, vidi illum', si autem 'cum veniebam' dicamus, aut modus pro

modo est, hoc est indicativus pro coniunctivo: aut 'cum' non erit coniunctio, sed adverbium temporis, et significat 'tempore quo veniebam'. *Interea* is defined by dum haec geruntur ad 1, 479; 5, 1; 6, 212; 10, 1; 10, 833 d. h. g. et omnino sic est apud poetas 'interea', sicut apud Sallustium 'eodem tempore'. Ad 11, 547 fugae medio, he says 'dum fugit, inter fugam'. The ablative of the ger. is sometimes mentioned 1, 713 'cantando' id est dum cantas, et frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis, id est dum ei cantatur. 2, 6; 2, 81; 5, 710; B. 8, 71; G. 1, 3; 3, 215. He states, ad B. 9, 23 inter gerendum, 'dum agis'. Porphyron uses *donec* in defining *donec* Hor. A. P. 155; and Ep. 2, 1, 147, but calls attention to its equivalence to *dum*, ad Ep. 1, 2, 41; and 2, 1, 47. Servius is inclined to use *dum* with the imperfect subjunctive defining *praecipitans*, ad Aen. 6, 351 dum *praecipitarer*; and in some comments has the imperfect subj. where Lactantius in his comments on Stat. Theb. has *cum*. Compare Serv. ad 1, 535 and 3, 694 with Lactantius ad 3, 27 and 1, 271.

Of more debatable interest than the fact that *cum* distanced its competitors, is the triumph of *cum* with the subjunctive in retrospective narrative. In Plautus and Terence the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive with *cum* is probably in no instance due to the force of the particle. There are a few examples in the Fragments of Ennius and Cato, and later it became the common prose construction. In poetry the indicative maintained its supremacy, though later poets were affected by the prose usage. As both the indicative and the subjunctive are found with *cum* in poetry and prose, it is necessary to accept them as equivalents in temporal expression, or to maintain a difference and search for the influence which brought about the change. And for this there has been many a quest. Many have been the solutions offered, and so rapidly has theory followed theory that the question might be taken as proof of the eternal flux. The grammatical procession has heard the proclamation of the discovery of many a new goal, and many a teacher not far advanced in age has seen more generations of *cum*-theories than the ancient Nestor had seen generations of men. Each theory has seemed for a time the longed for key, and like every other key each opened every lock that was fitted to it.

Time with the accessory notion of cause was once an "Open Sesame", revealing the content of every subjunctive with *cum*.

Then it was shown that in Plautus and Terence cause is expressed by *cum* with the indicative, and that *quod* and *quia*, themselves relatives, take the indicative to express cause, proving that *cum* does not require the subjunctive to express cause nor does the causal idea require the subjunctive for its expression. If the causal idea has affected the mood with *cum* we have the unexplainable phenomenon of an idea regularly expressed by the indicative diverting into the subjunctive the expression of an idea originally given in the indicative; or in other words two ideas each expressed by the indicative, when united, produced a subjunctive.

Another theory is that of absolute and relative time, one expressed by the indicative, the other by the subjunctive. It was a hard theory, assuming that the unphilosophical Romans easily mastered logical distinctions baffling the moderns, and was foredoomed in its statement. All the particles under consideration with either the indicative or the subjunctive, and it makes no difference which, express the relation of one point of time to another. Combining this fact with the theory we have an absolute-relative time, a result condemning the theory to limbo. And this in its generation opened every lock that was fitted to it.

Psychologically akin to this, though expressed in different terms, is the theory which makes the indicative and the subjunctive the product of faith and of doubt, the one "der Ausfluss der *aequa mens, der seelischen Freiheit*", Dittmar, p. 209, § 338; the other the result of the polemic question, p. 80, § 166. But the indicative *cum*-clauses of Plautus and Terence, and the subjunctive *cum*-clauses of Caesar and Cicero alike express unquestioned facts, and if one, then the other would produce the calmness of faith, with no opening for the introduction of the polemic question. It is still too early to trace the course of this theory accompanied by its attack on the one now generally accepted by Americans and which has been stated in various ways. The indicative *cum*-clause defines or dates the time at which the main act took place, the subjunctive describes or gives the quality, or characterizes the time, the situation or the circumstances under which the main act took place; in short the indicative merely points out the time, the subjunctive paints. While this is the general principle it will not be out of place to look closely at the definitions containing the words "situation under which".

Occasionally with the subjunctive *cum*-clause there is a juxtaposition of actions separated by many degrees of longitude, and there is no 'situation under which', as the actions of one consul in Spain do not give the situation under which his colleague acts in Greece. Further, the pluperfect subjunctive gives an antecedent situation, and this is especially noticeable in the passages, by no means uncommon, in which the pluperfect and the imperfect are used with the same *cum*, the one giving the antecedent situation, and the other the situation under which. In these instances the words "under which" do not strictly apply, but they are the non-essentials of the definition, the essence of which is in the words "describes" or "characterizes", and on the logical demonstration of this depends the establishment of the thesis; and the most elaborate statement based on definite premises is Hale's *The Cum-Constructions: Their History and Functions*.

This argument has two bases, 1, the nature of the imperfect and pluperfect tenses, and 2, the evolution of the subjunctive with *qui* and also with *quom* which is a modified relative.

1. The pluperfect or imperfect indicative tells us that we have to deal with a certain past time, and that "the act was at a certain past time *in a completed stage* (pluperfect), or *in process* (imperfect)." 94% of all the imperfects in early Latin express progressive actions, but mere progression is not characterization, as there is not introduced into the progression a single element that is not in the static action, just as the line is not more characterizing than is the point from which it is evolved. The pluperfect is the logical perfect viewed from another standpoint, and has in it only such qualities as are found in the perfect. In short the imperfect and the pluperfect are the present and the perfect in a different temporal setting, and what is needed is not an argument to show their suitability for characterizing, but one to show why the present and perfect must be considered as unsuited for the same purpose.

2. The demonstration of the character of the subjunctive *cum*-clauses is based (A). on the fact (p. 95) "that the mode of the essential qualitative clause is the subjunctive, and the mode of the non-essential qualitative clause the indicative". "Further, it will be found that the essential qualitative clause is always consecutive, or at least still bears in its form the clear marks of consecutive origin." And (p. 140, 9, a) "The original consecutive *qui*-

quom-clause (the verb of which would be equally in the subjunctive if independent) characterizes the antecedent by stating some act that would naturally flow . . . from the character of the antecedent." And again in (b) "will flow, does flow, etc". (B). The probable genesis of the use of the subjunctive with causal or adversative meaning is suggested, p. 98, and p. 156 it is stated "The genesis of the causal-adversative *quom*-clause cannot have been similar to that which we have found to be probable for the causal-adversative *qui*-clauses, namely, through a consecutive-justifying use". "But, on the other hand, an influence may well have been exerted upon the causal-adversative *quom*-clause by the rise of the subjunctive in the causal-adversative *qui*-clause". (C). But between the time of Terence and of Cicero there were introduced clauses with a distinct pronominal antecedent like *eo tempore* or *tum*, and the point of the entrance of the subjunctive in *quom*-clauses (p. 163) "was the clauses . . . in which either *quom*, or *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus* might serve, without distinction, as the relative for a demonstrative antecedent *is*, *ille*, etc., with *dies*, *nox*, *tempus*, etc., or a demonstrative antecedent *tum*. It is easily clear, then, why *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque* do not develop a regular subjunctive construction. They do not serve as relatives interchangeable with *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus* for an *id tempus*, *eo tempore*, etc." The tests to be applied to these clauses are two. (D). It is stated (p. 194), "It may be laid down as a sure principle that a *quom*-clause that carries forward the story by stating a new incident must be put in the subjunctive. This is the very sign-manual of the subjunctive *quom*-clause . . . If a *quom*-clause is interchangeable with an *ubi*- or *ut*-clause, then the *quom*-clause must be in the subjunctive. The indicative *quom*-clause, on the contrary, is not interchangeable with the *ubi*- *ut*-clause, nor with anything else, except a clause introduced by *quo tempore*". (E). "Further, the narrative clause is not like the indicative clause, translatable by the formula 'at the time at which'; for such a question makes too much of the temporal idea". As here given the second test is one of translation, as stated (p. 193). The indicative *quom*-clause is framed to meet a possible question, "At what time was it that this act of which you are speaking took place?" and the test is "*at the time at which*". The subjunctive *quom*-clause is framed to meet a possible question, "How were things *at the time of the act of which you are speaking*". See also the translations, p. 172 following.

(F). The final product of the evolution (p. 183) is a clause giving "simply the expression of the *situation*", and (p. 184) "for the lightest type, in which the character of the situation has grown faint, the curtailed name INTRODUCTORY CLAUSE OF THE SITUATION would express the actual function, and at the same time connect the construction with the fuller one out of which it has grown"; and (p. 185) "we may be quite prepared to find ourselves forced by our examples frankly to define the subjunctive *quom*-clause as an ever-possible participle."

A brief review of these views is necessary. (A). The consecutive character of the *qui*-clause can be shown by the application of *talis, ut* as a test. This is true of the first example, and is also true of the last. But to the usual *cum*-clause the test does not apply, and this is especially true of all those examples into which personality enters. 'Cum esset in citeriore Gallia . . . crebri ad eum rumores efferebantur', if interpreted with any consecutive bearing reverses the actual conditions by making the action of Caesar a resultant of the character of the times. The examples cited for the *qui-quom*-clauses (p. 140) are not parallel. The antecedents of the *qui*-clause are mostly restrictive and negative, those of the *quom*-clauses affirmative, while the verbs are optatives or conditional, with illustrations in the present and perfect subjunctive, two with *nunc illud est quom*, and one *nunc quom*. But it is held (p. 166) that "the present time as in *nunc quom* is self-explained, and the mode of the qualitative clause referring to it is therefore the indicative". See also examples, p. 216. At this point is the widest divergence of the *qui*- and the *quom*-clauses. The parallelism exists only in the past sphere, for the *qui*-clause characterizes as well in the present as in the past, and there seems to be no reason why the character of a person in the present as well as the character of the time should not be self-explained, for self-explanation is not less a characteristic of the present abstract than it is of the present person. On any basis of logical relationship the indicative moved into the past, should still be an indicative, and a subjunctive moved from the past into the present should be a subjunctive. And this proposition seems as reasonable as that of the scientist that an Indian elephant carried to the shores of Siberia by the Flood would be an Indian elephant still.

(B). The distinction between the causal-adversative *qui*- and *quom*-clauses is worthy of notice as it is a clear indication of the

non-parallelism of the two clauses, as pointed out in the last section. If they started at the same point and developed under the same influences, the lack of parallelism in certain sections of the development would lead us to interpret similar passages as the result, not of parallelism in development, but rather as chance coincidences.

(C). The limitation of clauses with definite antecedents to *cum*, overlooks Cato 'sed tum ubi ii dimissi erant', Jordan, p. 70, LXXXIII. *Nunc quom* is not unusual in Plautus nor its correlate *tum quom*, as Capt. 142; 280; Pseud. 883; *tum ut* Capt. 797; *tum quando* Men. 1027; Most. 689; Miles Gl. 810. For *olim quom*, see Brix ad Trin. 523 "ist gleich illo tempore, tum"; Mil. 2; Poen. 356; Pseud. 1312. Notice Truc. 380-381:

verum tempestas quandam dum vixi fuit
quom inter nos sorde ??? mus alter de altero.

Capt. 518 hic illest dies quom. In early Latin *cum, postquam, ubi*, and *ut* were used with the indicative, and at some points were certainly equivalent. Plaut. Pseud. 819 ei homines cenas ubi coquont, quom condidunt non condimentis condidunt. Pseud. 1180 noctu in vigiliam quando ibat, quom tu ibas simul.

If the indicative *cum*-clauses are to be distinguished from the *ubi*-clauses it must be due to a change after the rise of the subjunctive *cum*-clauses. Livy 29, 37, 8 *cum ventum est* is certainly the same as Val. Max. 2, 9, 2 *ut ventum est*; in poetry the differences are merely metrical, while *cum primum, ubi primum* and *ut primum* continued parallel throughout. Compare in special use Plaut. Men. 232 hic annus sextus est postquam damus and Trin. 402 minus quindecim dies sunt, quom . . . acceperisti.

(D). The statement of new facts is necessary for the continuation of the narrative, and is independent of the question of characterization, unless we assume that because of its newness each new fact in a temporal clause stood in need of characterization. The investigations of Schlicher, Class. Phil. 4, p. 267, show that "clauses . . . which contain ideas that are not directly suggested in what precedes, do, moreover, form a large proportion, something like a third or fourth, of all the temporal clauses introduced by *cum*.¹ Clauses introduced by the definite con-

¹"No sharp line can be drawn, of course, between these clauses and those whose ideas are directly suggested by what precedes. The one class shades off gradually into the other by many intermediate stages."

junctions, are, for the most part, rarely used for ideas of this kind". And further, p. 269, "identity of subject is much more common between the main clause and clauses introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *similatque*, than between the main clause and the clause introduced by *cum*". But the figures given indicate that the test is valueless for any particular passage, as both sets of particles introduce new facts as well as recapitulations of facts already given. In this last respect, considering only the newness of the facts presented, the statements containing *ubi* with the relative do not differ from statements containing *cum* with the relative; see Kunze, *Sallustiana III*, part 1, p. 72; Menge-Preuss, *Lex. Caes.*, p. 1108; Gerber-Greef, *Lex. Tac.*, p. 1690. The test applies only to past actions and has no application to the present and future, and for the compilers; e. g., Frontinus, none to the past, since the rule for them was the subjunctive for all statements new or old. There is a tendency to use *ubi*, etc., with verbs of perception taking as object some fact already mentioned, but this use seems to be independent of any question of the newness of the facts, and due to the interpretation of the *cum*-clause as itself subordinate.

(E). The first translation indicates a definitely conceived period or point of time, the like of which did not come again; the second one of several similar ones, or in short it is a matter of definiteness and indefiniteness. But in regard to this who shall decide? Cic. *Sex. Rosc. Com.* 12, 33 (p. 159) "accepit enim agrum *temporibus eis*, quom iacerent pretia praediorum (He got the farm at a time when prices were down,—*in hard times*)". But the following statement has *nunc* . . . *tunc*; *tum* . . . *nunc*; *tum* . . . *nunc*, indicating a point of time in the past as definitely determined (*tum*) as is the present (*nunc*). Compare the opposite example, Cic., *Rosc. Am.* 18, 50 "ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si *illis temporibus* natus esses, quom ab aratro *arcessebantur* qui consules fierent . . . if you had been born in the days when men were summoned from the plough to the consulship", that is *in primitive times*. *Illis temporibus* *quom* and *temporibus eis quom*, *hard times* and *primitive times*, seem equally definitely determined, and this is also true of the two other quotations, since the *tum* refers to the time mentioned in a preceding letter. Similar to these are Cic. *Ligar.* 7, 20 *atque ille eo tempore paruit, quom parere senatui necesse erat*;

vos tunc paruistis, quom paruit nemo, qui noluit, and Cic. Verr. 2, 98 si eo tempore ad te venissent cum tibi in integro tota res esset, and one might steadfastly refuse to see any logical difference between Sen. Ep. 104, 33 eodem quo repulsus est die in comitio pila lusit, and Cic. Post Red. 2, 3 illo ipso tempore, quom vi, ferro, metu, minis obsessi teneremini.

(F). The final product of the evolution of the characterizing clause is a clause in which characterizing does not inhere, being merely the equivalent of a participle, which is usually in the perfect tense so that the special tense force in the narrative clause is not required to express the full introductory meaning. In the case of deponent verbs the nominative has almost excluded the *cum*-clauses, while the ablatives absolute of other verbs far outnumber them. Both are uncolored, and this is true of the great mass of the *cum*-clauses, especially in the compilers of historical data, well illustrated by Frontinus with 350 subjunctives with *cum*, and one indicative in a quotation.

Taking into account the fact that the consecutive idea cannot be the measure of the *cum*-clauses to which *talis*, *ut* cannot be applied; that they, unlike the *qui*-clauses, are limited to the past; that the test for the indefiniteness of the clauses with *tempus* as an antecedent does not apply to the great mass in which no antecedent is expressed; and that the final product is the equivalent of a perfect participle without characterizing power, which in certain spheres excludes the *cum*-clauses, we must hold that the theory is not established, and that the correspondences between the *qui*- and *quom*-clauses are incidental to the fact that on the relative plane can be shown all manner of relations, and on the temporal plane can be posited all forms of modal statement making resemblance unavoidable, and that the application of a wider principle has embraced some clauses which are rightly interpreted as characteristic.

After all it may be that the demonstration is an argumentative *hysteron proteron*, a search for causes amid conditions existing after the effect had been established. One of the noticeable features of the *cum*-clauses in poetry is the practical avoidance of the pluperfect subjunctive. In this respect Vergil and Horace are as far from Cicero and Livy as are Plautus and Terence. If by any chance there had been left to us only Vergil and Horace of the Augustan age, from their writings the prose construction with *cum* could not be adequately inferred. The

relation of Plautus and Terence to the early prose writers may be the same, and with their speakers in the immediate type of narrative they may not reveal to us the full scope of the early usage with *cum*. We do not believe that they do. The words of Cato (Jordan, p. 27) *cum tantam rem peragier arbitrarer*, ap. Gell. XIII 25 (24), 15; (Jordan, p. 55) *cumque Hannibal terram Italiam laceraret atque vexaret*, ap. Gell. II 6, 7; Macr. Sat. VI 13; Serv. ad Verg. B. 6, 76; (Jordan 64, 1) *quom esset in provincia legatus, quam plures ad praetores et consules vinum honorarium dabant*, ap. Isidor. Orig. 20, 3, 8 seem to be in direct statements, and are sufficient in number to establish the subjunctive in prose for the time of Cato. In addition to these passages is the one ap. Gell. 3, 7, 19, which may possibly be indirectly stated.

The original form of all temporal statements was paratactic, and of this there are abundant evidences in Plautus especially with *dum*: Bacch. 737 *mane dum: scribit*; Persa 500 *tace dum: pellego*; Bacch. 988 *ades dum: ego has perlego*. From this there were two distinct lines of departure. One was with verbs of expectation, though even here the *dum* may be interpreted with the main clause and the subjunctive taken as expressing a wish; e. g., Poen. 785 *operam date dum: me videatis*; Men. 883 *manendo medicum dum: se ex opere recipiat*. The second was the *dum*-proviso clause, which is a little further removed from the paratactic stage; e. g., Persa 145 *me quoque etiam vende: si lubet, dum saturum vendas*.

There are also a few occurrences of *priusquam* with the subjunctive in clauses involving volition. *Quom, postquam, ubi* and *ut* give merely temporal locations, though they may be, for other than temporal reasons, associated with the subjunctive. Of this mood there are a few instances in the fragments of the poets before Lucretius, and then, in poetry, it is found chiefly in the imperfect, as also with *antequam* and *priusquam*, and with *dum*.

The prevailing use of the indicative in temporal statements in early poetry shows that the indicative might have continued as the mood for all narrative, if the attitude of the narrator had remained the same. But the retrospective narrator was dealing with facts not of his own experience, and at these he looked as he was encompassed by two influences, one setting from parataxis to hypotaxis, and the other toward *oratio obliqua*, either expressed or implied. The result clause starting with the recog-

nition of what might arise from a given antecedent was transferred from the possible to the actual, so that the narrator had before him the subjunctive expressing facts, volitions and subordinate statements indirectly made, including also the *cum*-clauses. The early retrospective narrator in dealing with extra-experiential facts may have stated these quasi-indirect facts as if they were really indirect and thus have established a new grammatical narrative form. Once used, and obliterating the distinction between the direct and the indirect statements, its very serviceability would account for its extension to all forms of past narrative, and embracing many clauses with distinguishing marks of their own.

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III.—LAUREL IN ANCIENT RELIGION AND FOLK-LORE.

Although authorities may differ in their definition of folk-lore, certainly it cannot be denied that those substances which are intimately associated with the life of the folk of Greece and Italy, are inseparably connected with rites and beliefs that can be shown to be survivals from an earlier stratum of folk-religion. This fact is, I am convinced, of the utmost importance in explaining many of the superstitious ideas and practices connected with various plants, and the object of this paper is to consider laurel,—δάφνη, laurus,—from this point of view, to see whether any explanation can thus be gained of the part played by this tree in ancient religion and folk-lore.

It is generally agreed that the rites of purification which form such a prominent aspect of Greek and Roman religion, go back to a primitive period when a belief in spirits was general, for the purification was not what we understand by the term, it was not spiritual; the stain was not within but came from without and was caused by souls of the dead, which had unlimited power for harm. Against these spirits man had to be continuously on his guard; he must protect himself, his house, his flocks from their attacks; and every purificatory rite had originally, at least, this end in view: to placate these spirits and to prevent them from doing harm.

In such rites we find laurel playing an important rôle. That it had done so from the most primitive times, the mythological instances of its use show. We are told, in the first place, that Apollo, after he had slain the Python, purified himself with laurel,¹ and every eighth year at Delphi, in the festival known as τὸ Στεπτήριον,² this purification of the god was represented. As Frazer remarks in his note on Paus., l. l.: "This legend of the

¹ Cf. Ael. V. H. 3, 1; Plut. Quaes. Gr. 12; de defect. or. 15; Tert. de cor. mil. 7.

² Cf. Plut., l. l.; Paus. 2, 7, 7 with Frazer's note; Harrison, Prol. to the Study of Gr. Rel., pp. 113 sq. Cf., too, the Daphnephoria at Thebes; Phot. Bibl., p. 321; Paus. 9, 10, 4. Cf. Boetticher, Baumk. 385 sq.; Gruppe, Gr. My. 106.

purification of Apollo for killing the dragon seems to carry us back to the days of primitive Greek savagery", to a time when the act of killing an animal was murder, and the avenging soul of the murdered animal was as much feared as the avenging soul of a murdered man.¹ The explanation of the use of the laurel, therefore, lies in the fact that it was thought to protect the slayer against such evil spirits whether they were those of beasts or men.

An example of its use against the latter is afforded by the tradition of the purification of Orestes for the murder of his mother. That laurel was used in the rites practised on that occasion is shown by the fact that when other things which were employed were buried a laurel tree sprang from them.² On three vases, too, depicting this ceremony, laurel branches are pictured.³ In two of them Apollo, who performs the ceremony, holds a branch of laurel on his left arm; in the third he has a bowl in his left hand, "while in his right he holds a branch of laurel over Orestes' head, sprinkling him with the liquid contained in the bowl". A somewhat similar scene, in which the laurel again appears, is painted on an amphora of lower Italy; this has been interpreted as the purification of Leonymus in the White Isle.⁴ On a cameo, also, representing the purification of the daughters of Proteus by Melampus, a branch is pictured which may be laurel.⁵ Such examples help us to explain, I think, the statement of Dion. Hal. A. R. 1, 40, that after Hercules had slain Cacus, the native inhabitants crowned him and themselves with laurel. It was an act of purification, and its aim was that of all such acts,—to keep the evil spirits at a distance; so the Argonauts, after the slaying of Amycus, crowned themselves with laurel; Ap. Rh. 2, 159, and Clem. Alex. Protr. 1, advises the true disciple to take to himself means of purification worthy of God, not leaves of laurel and fillets interwoven with wool and purple.

¹ Frazer, l. l., gives many examples of similar ideas among savage peoples. There are other traces, too, of the time when they prevailed in Greece; cf. the ritual of the Bouphonia, on which see Harrison, l. l., p. 111, with ref. in note 1.

² Paus. 2, 31, 8, with Frazer's note.

³ Frazer, l. l. One, an Apulian vase, is given in Baum. Denkm., p. 1117; for the others, cf. Ann. d. Inst. 1847, pl. X; Arch. Zeit. 1860, pl. CXXXVII; Compte Rendu (St. Petersburg), 1863, p. 213.

⁴ Arch. Zeit. N. F. 1 (1847), pp. 97-107; Paus. 3, 19, 12 with Frazer's note.

⁵ Baum. Denkm. fig. 988; Frazer on Paus. 2, 31, 8.

Throughout Greek and Roman literature references to the purificatory uses of laurel are common. That it was so used is stated by Fest., p. 117, Pl. 15, 135 sq.; Serv. on Aen. 1, 329; Corn. 32; Lyd. de Men. 4, 4; Geop. 11, 2, 4 sq.; cf. Ins. fr. Perg. 264, 4, περικαθάρειν θείω καὶ δάφνη.¹ Wherever there was danger from unclean spirits, wherever ceremonial purity was required, there we find laurel employed. In the prologos of Eur. Ion, 76 sq. Ion enters bearing a laurel branch to cleanse the approaches to the temple of Apollo, and in vs. 102 sq. we see him at his work, sprinkling the holy floor with laurel branches dipped in water,—cf. the painting referred to above,—and sweeping it with a broom made of laurel (114). Hence, as he who entered a temple of Apollo had to be pure (Serv. on Aen. l. l.), he carried laurel branches (Eur. Ion 420 sq.), or wore a laurel crown; Livy 23, 11, 5 in describing the mission of Fabius Pictor to Delphi says: iussumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem ascendere nec ante deponere eam quam Romam pervenisset, se... coronam Romae in ara Apollinis deposuisse; cf. Plut. Arist. 20, 5. To wear this crown on the return from the oracle seemingly signified good news; cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 82; Eur. Hipp. 806. The symbolism which grew up around the connection of the laurel with Apollo has, of course, often obscured the original idea underlying its use, but there can be little doubt in most cases what this original idea was. Further examples will help to make this clear.

In the Schol. to Eur. Alc. 98 we read: ὅπότε τις ἀποθάνοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν δστρακα πληροῦντες ὑδατος ἐτίθεσαν καὶ κλάδους δάφνης ἵνα οἱ ἔξιόντες περιῤῥάίνοιντο. The reason for purification in such a case is well known.² So Servius commenting on Verg. Aen. 6, 230, where in the lustral rites in connection with the burial of Misenus, an olive branch is used to sprinkle holy water on those present, says: moris fuerat ut de lauro fieret. The end to be gained by such sprinkling is well shown by Juv. 2, 157, where, in describing the underworld, he apostrophizes the souls of the great dead and asks them what they would do when an unbelieving shade came among them: cuperent lustrari si qua darentur/Sulphura cum taedis et si foret humida laurus. The same means of purification were practised at the Roman Parilia,—Ov. F. 4, 727,—an ancient

¹Cf. Babick, de Daesidaemonia Veterum Quaes. p. 5.

²Cf. Rohde, Psyche² 1, 217 sq.

festival having for aim the promotion of fertility, and protection for man and his possessions against the spirits of ill;¹ laurel was also burned at this time, Ov., l. l., 742. On May 15, also, the Roman merchant sprinkled himself and his wares in the same way:² Ov. Fast. 5, 679, *Spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos/ Et peragit solita fallere voce preces:/ Ablue praeteriti peruria temporis, inquit/Ablue praeterita perfida verba die!*

In times of pestilence and disease, which primitive man ascribes to the presence of evil spirits,—cf. Ov. Fast. 2, 533 sq.,—we find laurel again employed to banish the ill. We are told, for example, by Clem. Alex. Strom. 5, 8, 49, that Branchus, the mythical founder of the oracle at Miletus, during a pestilence there, sprinkled the people with laurel branches and purified them. In the lustral rites ordered by the Sibyl on such occasions, laurel was especially prominent;³ cf. Livy 40, 37: *decemviri supplicationem in biduum valetudinis causa . . . edixerunt. Maiores duodecim annis omnes coronati et lauream in manu tenentes supplicaverunt.* So on the occurrence of prodigies laurel crowns were worn and laurel branches carried in the various processions in honor of Apollo: Livy 27, 37, 11; 34, 55, 4; 36, 37, 5; 43, 13, 8; Isyllos B 10 (Wilamowitz, Isyl. p. 9). Laurel was also used in the lustration of armies; cf. Jul. Obs. 130 lustratione lictor perversis fascibus lauream imposuit. Three other passages, Dion Cass. 47, 40; App. Civ. B. 4, p. 668; Plut. Brut. 39, 2, do not mention laurel in connection with this rite, but speak of crowning only. As they refer, however, to the crowning of the reversed fasces,—a bad omen, (Jul. Obs. 130),—laurel must be meant. Plut. Marc. 22, 1, is more explicit: in speaking of the triumph he says that arms and men are crowned with much laurel just as is customary in the purification of armies; and in the next section he says that when Marcellus, after a victory, was about to burn spoils as a sacrifice to the gods, the army stood by crowned, i. e., with laurel; cf. ib. Sulla 27, 4.

All these citations furnish us examples of what are generally styled purificatory rites, but we must not forget that purification originally meant nothing but freedom from spirits, and the substances used in such rites had power not only to expel these spirits

¹Cf. Preller-Jordan, Römische Mythologie, I, 416 sq. Fowler, Roman Festivals, 79 sq.

²Cf. Prel.-Jor., l. l., 2, 232.

³Cf. Diels, Sibyll. Blätt., pp. 51; 120.

but to repel them;¹ i. e., they were prophylactic, and it is impossible to tell which idea was the most prominent. In endeavoring to explain, for instance, the custom of the triumphator wearing a laurel crown, Pl. 15, 38, 135, after speaking of the virtues of laurel, continues: *ob has causas equidem crediderim, honorem ei habitum in triumphis potius quam quia suffimentum sit caedis hostium et purgatio, ut tradit Masurius.* The latter is the reason² given by Fest. also, 117, 13: *laureati milites sequebantur currum triumphantis ut quasi purgati a caede humana intrarent urbem.* This is near the mark, but what was the necessity of the purple robe,³ the phallus, the ribald cries of the soldiers, which were as characteristic of the triumph as the laurel crowns?⁴ They were all prophylactic, potent against evil spirits, and Pliny, 28, 39, tells us that the purpose of the phallus and the soldiers' jokes was to protect the triumphator against envy and the evil eye.⁵ This furnishes us the key: there

¹ Cf. Porphyr. *de philos. ex orac. haur.*, p. 149: *διὰ τοῦτο αἱ ἀγεῖαι, οὐ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προπονούμενας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοι (= spirits) ἀποστῶσι.*

² Serv. on Verg. Ecl. 8, 12 (cf. Isid. 17, 7), *est ratio quoniam . . . semper vireat.* Fest., l. l., adds: "vel quod medicamento siccissima sit: vel quod omni tempore viret."

³ The choice of the purple garment cannot, it seems to me, be due to mere caprice of taste. Purple was closely associated with the spirit world: it was the color worn by those who sacrificed to the Eumenides, Aesch. Eum. 1028; in the annual sacrifice to those who had been slain at the battle of Plataea, the archon, who could at no other time touch iron or wear purple, put on a robe of this color and carried a sword, Plut. Arist. 21; cf. ib. Arat. 53, 4-5; the dead were buried in purple, Stat. S. 5, 1, 225; the Salii were clad in purple on the March festival, Plut. Num. 13, 4; Dion. Hal. 2, 70; cf. ib. 7, 72; more significant still is the statement of Plut. Rom. 25, 5, who, in describing the triumph of Romulus, adds that whenever they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead through the forum an old man clad in a boy's robe edged with purple, with a bulla around his neck; cf. further, Diels, Sib. Blät., p. 69 n. Rohde, Psy. 1, 226, n. 3; Gruppe, Gr. My. 891, n. 3.

⁴ For the details of a triumph, cf. Prel.-Jor. 1, 230; Marq.-Momm. Privatl. 542; Staatsv. 2, 582 sq. 576; for the purple robe, cf. Pl. 9, 127; Plut. Rom. 25, 5; Aem. Pau. 34, 3; Dion. Hal. 3, 62; 7, 72; for the soldiers' jests, cf. Pl. 28, 39; Ov. Trist. 4, 2, 51; Mart. 7, 8, 8; Claud. de Con. Stil. 3, 20-21; other ref. in Marq.-Momm. Staatsv. 2, 588, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Prel.-Jor. 1, 230, n. 4; according to Macr. S. 1, 6, 9, a bulla was also carried by the triumphator: *nam sicut praetexta magistratum, ita bullam gestamen erat triumphantum, quam in triumpho prae se gerebant inclusis intra eam remediis quae crederent adversus invidiam valentissima.* The same ideas must have prompted the use of the iron ring (Pl. 33, 11), and the custom of painting the body (ib. 33, 111).

were spirits abroad and it was for protection against them that these precautions were taken. The fact that the soldiers also wore laurel¹ suggests that the spirits most feared were the avenging ghosts of the warriors slain in battle. That something was to be feared from these spirits the necessity for the purification of an army shows, and this view is supported by the distinction made between an ovatio and a triumph. The former, in which there was no chariot, no phallus, no purple robe, and a myrtle instead of a laurel crown, was granted to a general who had gained his point without bloodshed, the latter to one who had subdued his enemies by fighting and the shedding of blood; cf. Plut. *Marc.* 22, 1; Pl. 15, 135; Gell. 5, 6, 21; cf., too, the custom mentioned by Plut. *Rom.* 25, 5, referred to above,—a custom which shows that something more beside the evil eye was feared.

Laurel apparently has lustral signification in its use by the Romans for presents (*strenae*),² on the first of January. On this day, according to Lydus, *de mens.* 4, 4 φύλλα δὲ δάφνης ἐδίδοσαν ἀπερ ἑκάλουν στρῆνα, εἰς τιμὴν δαιμονός τινος οὗτω προσαγορευομένης ἥτις ἔφορος ἔστι τῶν νικῶν. Somewhat different is Geop. II, 2, 6: δάφνη . . . ὑγείας ἔστιν ἐργαστική. ὅθεν καὶ φύλλα αὐτῆς ἐπιδίδονται τοῖς ἀρχοντὶς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἱαννοναρίου μηρὸς (cf. Mart. 10, 10, 1), καὶ Ισχάδες, and Fest., p. 113, 28, tells us that these presents were made *ominis boni causa*; so Ov. Fast. 1, 185 sq. explains the custom of giving similar gifts,—sweet cakes, figs, etc. The custom must have been much older than 152 B. C., when the consuls first began their official year on January 1, for the *strenae* were brought into connection with the goddess Strenia, and from

¹ It is unnecessary to give all the references to laurel in this connection; the triumphator wore a laurel crown: Tib. 2, 5, 5; Ov. Am. 2, 12, 1; Ep. ex Pon. 2, 2, 82 sq. Tr. 4, 2, 51; Pl. 15, 137; Livy 10, 7, 9; Mart. 8, 65, 5; Serv. Aen. 1, 394; Ecl. 8, 12; Claud. Gigant. 34; he carried a branch in his hand: Tib. 2, 5, 117; 1, 7, 7; Pl. 1. 1.; Plut. Aem. Paul. 34; the fasces were crowned with it: Tac. A. 13, 9, 7; Cic. de Div. 1, 59; Jul. Obs. 123; Claud. Quart. Con. Hon. 14; the chariot, Suet. Aug. 94; Claud. Tert. Con. Hon. 128; de Bell. Gild. 1, 13; the horses, Ov. ex Pon. 2, 1, 58; Flor. 1, 5, 6; Mart. 7, 8, 8; Zon. 7, 8; the soldiers bore laurel, Pl. 15, 133; Livy 45, 38, 12; Fest. 117, 13; Mart. 7, 5, 4; Plut. Aem. Pau. 34, 3-4; App. Pun. 66; the laurel of the fasces and that which the triumphator had carried in his hand was laid in the temple of Jupiter, Sen. Dial. 12, 10, 8; Stat. S. 4, 1, 41; Sil. Ital. 15, 118; Suet. Dom. 6; Nero. 14; Jul. Obs. 1. 1.; Dio Cass. 54, 25; 55, 5; Ov. Tr. 4, 2, 51 sq.

² A full account of the *strenae* is given by Lipenius in Graevius, Thesaurus, Vol. 12, p. 409; cf., also, Prel.-Jor. 1, 180; Marq.-Momm. Privatl. 251-2; Staatsv. 3, 266, n. 8; Samter, Familienfeste d. Gr. u. Röm. 87 sq.

the time of T. Tatius, we are told, twigs of a *felix arbor* were taken from her grove at the beginning of each year and carried to the Arx, Symm. ep. 10, 35. Unfortunately we know little about Strenia,¹ and the knowledge does not help us to disentangle what was original from the later symbolism on which, as the examples quoted show, reasons for the custom were based. If we could be sure that there was a change of date and that March 1, the ancient New Year's, was the day with which the practice was originally connected, we could be more positive as to the significance of the laurel.

For there can be no doubt that the custom of decorating the Regia, the Curiae, and the houses of the flamens with fresh laurel on this great Mars' festival² (cf. Ov. F. 3, 135 sq.; Macr. S. 1, 12, 6) had its origin in the belief that laurel could aid in keeping off evil spirits. This was the purpose of all the rites practised on that day, as it was the purpose of similar rites practised elsewhere at the beginning of spring.³ During the Greek Anthesteria for example, on the Choes when the spirits of the dead were thought to rise again,⁴ the doors were smeared with pitch and people chewed buckthorn from early morning; it is probable that this was the day on which the Superstitious Man put laurel in his mouth and walked around thus the whole day, Theophr. Ch. 16. Pitch and buckthorn were frequently used whenever there was danger from spirits,⁵ and laurel must be classed with them; the sick Bion, for instance, hung buckthorn and a laurel branch over his door: Diog. Laert. de vit. phil. 4, 57; cf. the epigram cited by Hesych. de hom. s. v. Βίων (p. 14, Orelli).

We are expressly told, indeed, that where laurel is there the spirits cannot be: Geop. 11, 2, 5: ἀπεχθάνεται δαίμοσις καὶ ἐνθα ἀν γέδαφη ἐκποδῶν δαίμονες; so Lydus, de Mens. 4, 4. Hence it was a sure protection against the evil eye and enchantment: Zenob. 3, 12 (= Diog. 4, 14): Δαφνίνην φορῶ βακτηρίαν. τοῦτο λέγειν εἰώθασιν οἱ ὑπό τινων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι παρόστον ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἡ δάφνη; cf. Diog. 4, 78; B. 322; and it is this power over spirits which explains many of the uses to which laurel was put. The same reason which inspired Bion to hang it over his door in time of sickness,

¹ Cf. Wissowa, Relig. d. Röm., p. 196 sq., Prel.-Jor. 2, 234.

² Cf. Roscher, Lex. s. v. Mars, 2428; Fowler, pp. 39 sq.

³ Cf. Fowler, I. l.; for the Anthesteria, cf. Harrison, pp. 32 sq.

⁴ Phot. s. v. μαρὰ ήμέρα; Rohde, Psy. I, 237 sq., Harrison, I. l.

⁵ Rohde, I. l., n. 3; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. 889, n. 4.

when we know that spirits were thought to be active, caused people to place laurel branches there at other times; cf. E. M. s. v. Ἀντίηνος, τοὺς τῆς δάφνης ὄρπηκας τοὺς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ισταμένους; Hesych. s. v. Κάμυθα, especially on occasions when spirits were most liable to do harm. Thus it was the custom to decorate the door in this manner at weddings; Juv. 6, 79: ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro, on which the Schol. rem: ad honorem nuptiarum. Sic enim solent in nuptiis praeparare. Laurel is expressly mentioned in this connection by Claud. de Rap. Pros. 3, 74 sq.; Epithal. de Nup. Hon. 299, where the soldiers at the wedding are crowned with it; Apul. Met. 4, 26; Tertul. ad Ux. 2, 6; Dracont. Med. 336: of the wedding of Jason and Medea, tunc regia lauro/cingitur et postes socii pia serta coronant; E. M., p. 531, 53. In a picture on a hydria, also, evidently representing the preparations for a bridal bath, one of the girls holds branches of laurel and myrtle.¹ In Juv. 6, 226, Luc. Phar. 2, 354, Stat. Theb. 2, 248,—passages referring to weddings,—the rami and serta were evidently of laurel; cf. Tert. de cor. mil. 13. This was, perhaps, the custom also at births; cf. Juv. 9, 85: foribus suspende coronas/iam pater es, where laurel² is probably meant; all sorts of precautions were taken at such a time εἰς ἀπέλασιν δαιμόνων, Phot. s. v. ῥάμνος. In Greece, when a boy or girl reached the age of puberty, laurel was hung before the door, E. M., p. 531, 53; and it was this belief in its power to keep off the spirits that led to the custom of planting laurel trees in front of houses; Pl. 15, 127: laurus . . . gratissima domibus, ianitrix Caesarum Pontificarumque; sola et domus exornat et ante limina excubat; cf. Sen. Dial. 11, 16, 5; to the ‘ianitrix Caesarum’ refer Ov. Tr. 3, 1, 43; M. 1, 562; Dio Cass. 53, 16; Tert. Apol. 35; cf. also Sidon. Ap. 2, 18. For the same reason laurel crowns were chiselled on the walls;³ they are often represented, too, on tombstones.⁴

¹ Cf. Gerhard, Auserles. Gr. Vasenb. 3, 306; cf. further, Sen. Ag. 313; Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 181.

² The crowns may have been of olive as was the custom in Greece; cf. Hesych. s. v. στέφανον ἐκφέρειν; Rohde, Psy. 2, 72, n. 1; Gruppe, I. I., 879 sq.; Samter, I. I., 80 sq. It may be noted that in Germany, every time a child is swathed, a cross is made with the laurel branches which hang on the bed; cf. Wuttke Deutsch. Volksaberg. 588; cf., further, Boettich. Baumk., p. 373.

³ Cf. Heim, Fl. Jb. Kl. Phil. Supp. 19, 1893, p. 508.

⁴ Cf. C. I. L. 3, 120; 6, 77; 2278; Kaibel, I. G. S. I. 1834; cf. Heim, I. .

These uses gave rise to the custom of wearing laurel crowns or decorating with laurel on all festive occasions; cf. Cic. pro Mur. 88: *ut eam imaginem clarissimi viri parentis sui quam paucis ante diebus laureatam in sua gratulatione conspexit, eandem deformatam . . . videat*; Ov. Tr. 3, 1, 43, says of it, *facit omnia festa*; cf. Juv. 10, 65, *pone domi laurus*; 12, 91, on the safe return of a friend; Plut. Aem. Pau. 22, 1; Tac. Ann. 15, 71; Tert. inveighs against the custom as the distinguishing mark of a pagan: de Idol. 15; de Cor. mil. 13; Ap. 35; and it was forbidden by canon law: Cor. iur. can. decr. 2, 26, 7, 13: *non licet iniquas observationes agere kalendarum et otii vacare gentilibus, neque lauro aut viriditate arborum cingere domus; omnis enim haec observatio paganismi est.* In all the celebrations connected with the emperors laurel is especially prominent; people carried it on their coronation; cf. Herodian 2, 2; 2, 13-14; on their birthdays: Dio Cass. 47, 18; 72, 21; on their triumphal entries into cities, Tac. H. 2, 70; Suet. Aug. 58; Dio Cass. 74, 1; Herodian 1, 7; 3, 8; 4, 1; 8, 6; 8, 7; and at other times: Tac. H. 2, 55: *ut cessisse Othonem . . . certi auctores . . . attulerunt, . . . populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines circum templa tulit*; Dio Cass. 63, 4.¹

The following examples will illustrate further its supposed apotropaic power: Ael. N. A. 1, 35, tells us that doves put laurel twigs in their nests *βασκανίας ἀμυντήριον*; cf. Pl. 8, 101: palumbes graculi merulae perduces lauri folio annum fastidium purgant. According to Geop. 2, 30, 1, leaves of laurel put among barley grains preserve them. It was apotropaic against the robigo: Pl. 18, 161, robigo quidem maxima segetum pestis, lauri ramis in arvo defixis, transit in ea folia ex arvis; so Geop. 5, 33, 4. It was put in the nest of a sitting hen adversus tonitrua quibus vitiantur ova pullique semiformes interimuntur, Colum. 8, 5, 12; cf. Geop. 14, 11, 5; in the latter we also read that it protected the wine

¹ For the custom of crowning the fasces with laurel,—a custom evidently based upon symbolism and hence needing not to be considered here, cf. Marq.-Momm. Staatsr. I, 374. The same is true of the laureatae litterae and laureati pili which were signs of victory. Ref. are numerous: cf. Plut. Rom. 41, 3; Cic. in Pis. 17, 39; Ov. Am. 1, 11, 25; Livy, 5, 28, 13; 45, 1, 7-8; Pl. 15, 133; 35, 201; Pers. 6, 43; Pl. Pan. 8; Mart. 7, 5, 4; 6, 5; 9, 35, 6; Tac. Ag. 18; H. 3, 77; Schol. Juv. 4, 149; Flor. 3, 3, 20; Vita Max. 24; Alex. Serv. 58; Herodian 8, 6; Dio Cass. 62, 19; App. in Mith., p. 223; Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 69. On the laurel crown of the emperors, granted first to Caesar,—Dio Cass. 43, 43—cf. Marq.-Momm. Staatsr. I, pp. 427 sq.; cf. p. 414.

jars from lightning: 7, 11, ἔποι δὲ δάφνης κλάδους ἐπιτίθεσθαι κατὰ ἀντιτάθεσται; in the cod. Paris. suppl. Gr. 636 (ed. Fuchs, Rh. Mus. 50, 1895), pp. 576 sq., we read under the caption περὶ κεραυνῶν,—τὰ μὲν οὖν φυλάσσοντα ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν εἰσὶ ταῦτα,—ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς γῆς δάφνη καὶ συκῆ.

These ideas are due to a belief that lightning never struck the laurel tree, hence Tiberius turbatiore caelo numquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis, Suet. Tib. 69; cf. Pl. 15, 135; in 134, the latter remarks manu satarum receptarumque in domos fulmine sola non icitur; cf. ib. 2, 146; Serv. on Aen. 1, 394; Isid. Or. 17, 7, 2. We are able to appreciate the reasoning which led to this belief, for laurel was thought to be full of fire;¹ i. e., a fiery demon was originally supposed to dwell in it, and it was imagined that the heavenly fire demon would not harm the related demon dwelling in the tree.² And this belief in turn had its origin, I think, in the use of laurel to strike fire; cf. Pl. 16, 208: nihil hedera praestantius quae teratur, lauro quae terat;³ cf. Sen. N. Q. 2, 22, 1,—a use referred to in Hym. Herm. 108: δάφνης ἀγλαὸν δῖον ἐπέλεψε σιδῆρῳ/ἄρμενον ἐν ταλάμῳς ἀμπνυτο δὲ θερμὸς ἀυτῷ. The practice must go back to the most primitive times.

It is probably due to the common use of laurel for firewood, that its crackling⁴ in the flames was thought to be a good omen; Tib. 2, 5, 81: et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis/omine quo felix et sacer annus erit. As the crackling, however, is simply an indication that the fire had caught, perhaps the omen in the first place depended upon whether the fire burned or went out. This is to be inferred from Theocr. 2, 23 sq., where laurel is burned in a love⁵ charm: Δέλφις ἔμ' ἀνίστεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δέλφιδι δάφναν/αἴθω· χ' ὡς αὐτὰ λακεῖ μέγα καππυρίσασα/κῆξαπίνας ἄφθη, κούδε σποδὸν εἴδομες αὐτᾶς·/οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφις ἐν φλογὶ σάρκ' ἀμαθύνοι: the

¹ Pl. 16, 207 calls it calida; cf. Theop. h. pl. 5, 4; Euseb. Praep. Evan. 3, p. 112; Geop. 11, 2; Lyd. de men. 4, 4.

² Cf. Gruppe, p. 785. He compares the Blitzstein; Grimm, D. M.³ 1, 164; 2, 1170 sq.

³ Gr. τρίπανον, Theop. h. pl. 5, 9, 7.

⁴ This peculiarity is often referred to: Lucr. 6, 151; Ov. F. 1, 343; Pl. 15, 135; E. M. s. v. δάφνη, p. 250, 35; Eust. on Hom. Il. 1, 14; hence the proverb, μεῖνα βοῦ δάφνης χλωρᾶς καιομένης, Diog. 6, 52; Suid. s. v.

⁵ The fact that laurel burned quickly and completely would account for its use in such a charm; cf. Kuhnert, Feuerzauber, Rh. Mus. 49 (1894), p. 44; its magic properties, too, lend an additional motive.

good omen consists in the fact that the laurel was entirely consumed and left no ashes; in the same charm as given by Verg. E. 8, 106-7, the flame, after dying down suddenly brightens again: corripuit altaria flammis / sponte sua dum ferre moror cinis ipse. bonum sit! We see from Prop. 2, 28, 35-6, that the reverse is a bad omen; he performs a charm during Cynthia's illness: deficiunt magico torti sub carmine rhombi / et iacet extincto laurus adusta foco. This use of laurel in a medicinal charm has its ultimate explanation in its power to drive away spirits; cf. the custom of the philosopher Bion, referred to above, p. 293; and its use in purificatory rites in time of pestilence, p. 290. This is the significance, too, of the fire made of laurel and herba Sabina on the Roman Parilia, Ov. F. 4, 741: ure mares oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas / et crepet in mediis laurus adusta foci.¹

Such practices, which carry us back at once into the heart of ancient folk-lore and religion, make us wonder why Pl. 15, 135 should say: adeoque in profanis usibus pollui laurum et oleam fas non est, ut ne propitiandis quidem numinibus accendi ex his altaria arave debeant. Certainly the uses set forth above were 'profani' and 'altaria' occur in the charm quoted from Verg. Can the explanation of Pliny's words lie in a belief that laurel was not pure enough, i. e., was felt to be too closely associated with the spirit world, for the sacrificial fire in honor of the gods of the upper world?² We know that this had to be free from all associations with spirits, or it might be polluted by their presence,³ and we have seen how closely laurel was connected with them. There is, too, other evidence which supports this explanation. Iamb. Vit. Pyth. 154 preserves the following injunction of Pythagoras: κέδρῳ καὶ δάφνῃ καὶ κυπαρίστῳ καὶ δρῦι καὶ μυρίνῃ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ μηδὲν τούτοις ἀποκαθαιρεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, μηδὲ σχίζειν τοὺς ὄδόντας. Surely the latter commands must rest upon the fear that spirits

¹ According to Lyd. de Men. 4, 4: καν ταῖς μαντείαις καίοντες ταύτην οἱ ἀνθρώποι παράστασιν προφητείας δοκοῦσιν εύρηκεν. cf. Boissonade, Anecd. Gr. 1, p. 425.

² Cf. Serv. ad. Ecl. 5, 66: Varro diis superis altaria, terrestribus aras, inferis focos dicari affirmat. The distinction does not always hold good,—cf. Marq.-Momm. Staatsv. 3, 161,—but it is noteworthy that Pl. omits 'foci', while in the passages quoted above, the laurel is burned in 'foci.'

³ δπως μὴ προσάψαιτο τοῦ βωμοῦ διὰ τὸ μυρίας Ιων ἀναμεμιχθαι κῆρας, Philo Jud. de Vit. Mos. 3, 18 (Cohn-Wendland). On the necessity of 'pure' fire, cf. Rohde Psy. 2, 73, and n. 4.

would settle upon your body and get inside if you were not careful what you put into your mouth.¹ This would explain, too, the advice of Empedocles² to abstain entirely from laurel leaves.

When we endeavor to account for the belief that spirits resided in the laurel and the other trees mentioned by Pythagoras, we are aided in our quest by a saying of Empedocles, recorded by Ael. N. An. 12, 7, that if man, after death, is to be changed into a plant laurel is the most preferable.³ Nor are we lacking for proof that souls of the dead were thought to take up their abode in this tree.⁴ We are told that a laurel tree grew on the grave of the 'earth-born Ischenus', better known as Taraxippus;⁵ and on that of Amycus, Pl. 16, 239: *in eodem tractu portus Amyci est Bebryce rege interfecto clarus. Eius tumulus a supremo die lauro tegitur quam insanam⁶ vocant, quoniam si quid ex ea decerpsum inferatur navibus, iurgia fiant donec abiciatur*; the latter detail is also mentioned by the Schol. on Ap. Rh. 2, 159, and means simply that the power of Amycus still lived on in the tree into which his spirit had passed.⁷

¹ Cf. Porphy. ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. 4. 23, 3: *καὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ταῖς ποιαῖς τροφαῖς χαίρουσι, σιτονμένων γὰρ ἡμῶν προσίσαι καὶ προσιζάνοντι τῷ σώματι . . . μάλιστα δ' αἴματι χαίρουσι καὶ ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις καὶ ἀπολαύοντι τούτων, εἰσδύνοντες τοῖς χρωμένοις*; cf. Harrison, p. 167.

² Plut. Symp. 3, 1, 2—cf. ib. plac. phil. 5, 26—οἱ μόνης . . . κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα τῆς δάφνης τῶν φύλλων ἀπὸ πάμπταν ἔχεσθαι χρὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων φείδεσθαι δένδρων ἀπάντων; cf. for a different view, Rohde, I. 1., 2, 181, n. 2.

³ ἐν θήρεσσι λέοντες ὄρειλεχέες χαμαειναὶ γίνονται, δάφναι δὲ ἐν δένδρεσιν ἥνκβομοισιν. Empedocles wore a laurel crown on his journey, Suid. s. v.

⁴ And the others mentioned: e. g., a myrtle grew on the grave of Polydorus, Verg. A. 3, 23 sq.; cypresses on that of the seer Alcmaeon, Paus. 8, 24, 7; note that the daughters of Eteocles, after their death, were turned into cypresses, Geop. 11, 4; cf. Theocr. 16, 104; a nymph lay under the oak which Erysichthon felled, Ov. M. 8, 771; cf., too, Paus. 10, 32, 9; for the κέδρος we have no such definite information but it may be noted that Paus. 8, 17, 2 places this tree, the oak, and cypress among the woods out of which images of the gods were first made; this indicates an earlier belief that a numen dwelt in these trees. We may compare the statement of Stat. Th. 4, 275 that the Arcades were born from laurel trees. I have found no other reference to laurel in this connection; the oak is generally mentioned; cf. Verg. Aen. 8, 315; Juv. 6, 12; cf. Hom. Od. 19, 163.

⁵ Tzetzes on Lycoph. Cass. 42; cf. Frazer, n. to Paus. 6, 20, 15.

⁶ Cf. Hehn, Kulturpfl. u. Haust. 198.

⁷ For examples of this belief, cf. Gruppe, p. 790, n. 1; Tylor, Prim. Cult. 2, 215 sq.

Instructive in this connection is the belief of the Romans that the laurel was the fatal tree¹ of the Julian house; Pl. 15, 136: *Liviae Drusillae, . . . cum pacta esset illa Caesari, gallinam conspicui candoris sedenti aquila ex alto abiecit in gremium illaesam, intrepideque miranti accessit miraculum, quoniam teneret rostro laureum ramum onustum suis bacis. . . . iussere haruspices ramumque eum seri ac rite custodiri.* Quod factum est in villa Caesarum. . . . Ex ea triumphans postea Caesar laurum in manu tenuit, coronamque capite gessit ac deinde imperatores Caesares cuncti. Traditusque mos est ramos quos tenuerunt serendi, et durant silvae nominibus suis discretae; cf. Dio Cass. 48, 52; Suet. Gal. 1. Serv. ad Aen. 6, 230, adds the important detail: nata erat laurus in Palatio eo die quo Augustus; cf. Suet., l. l., for the corollary: observatum est sub cuiusque—sc. Caesaris—obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno et silva omnis exaruit radicitus; cf. Dio, 63, 29; Xiph. 63, p. 727, E; so among the signs foretelling the death of Alex. Severus, laurus . . . ingens et antiqua tota subito decidit Vit. Alex. Sev. 60. In the following examples the use of laurel as symbolical of victory² seems to have had influence: according to Dio, 41, 39, Caesar's success was foreshadowed by the fact that when he was sacrificing preparatory to setting out from Brundisium against Pompey, a kite, flying over the Forum, dropped a laurel branch upon one of those who was assisting him; the birth of Severus was attended by the following miracle: Vit. 13, nata in domo laurus iuxta persici arborem intra unum annum persici arborem vicit. Cf. the dream of Vergil's mother, Donatus vita, p. 55. It was, on the contrary, an omen of Caesar's death when, on the day before the fatal Ides, avem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem, volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt, Suet. Jul. 81; and of the overthrow of Vitellius, when laurea—sc. corona,—quam religiosissime circumdederat, in profluentem excidit, Suet. Vitel. 9. We read of similar omens in the case of

¹Cf. Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 98, n. 2; Gruppe, p. 879.

²Laurus, laurea, etc. often = victory: cf. Ov. ex Pont. 2, 7, 67: *praestat et exulibus pacem tua laurea, Caesar;* ib. Tr. 2, 172; Mart. 8, 50, 5; Luc. Ph. 1, 122; Claud. in Eutr. 1, 503; cf. also, Plaut. Cist. 201; Pl. 15, 133; Zenob. 5, 34; Stat. Th. 12, 492. As an emblem of peace, it seems to have adorned the temple of Janus; cf. Auson. Caes. temp. imp. XII, Caes. vs. 11, ter dominante Tito cingit nova laurea Ianum.

others besides the Emperors; Plut. *Sul.* 27, 4 tells us that Sulla's success was foretold by the figure of a laurel crown on the liver of the sacrificial victim. According to Flor. 2, 7, 7, manifestam victoriam nata in praetoria puppe laurus; cf. Livy 32, 1, 12, litterae adlatae in quibus . . . scriptum erat lauream in puppe navis longae enatam; cf. Iul. Obs. 47. It is not strange, therefore, that Claud. *de rap. Pros.* 3, 76, should make Proserpina see in her ill-omened dreams a laurel tree, *imo stipite caesam/ . . . et incomptos foedari pulvere ramos/ quaesivitque nefas.* Dryades dixere gementes/Tartarea Furias debellavisse bipenni; an interesting statement in view of what was said above.

More convincing evidence for the connection of laurel with the spirits of the underworld is afforded by its relation to the oracle at Delphi. We know that there was there, in very early times, an oracle of the chthonic Gaia;¹ that it was a spot which was thought of as the entrance to the lower world, whence flowed the spring Cassotis, which inspired "the women with the spirit of prophecy".² Beside the oracular cavern, before Apollo took possession of it, grew a laurel tree,³ and the close connection between this tree and the underworld is shown both by the fact that Daphnis (=Daphne) was appointed by Gaia the first priestess of her oracle,⁴ and by the legend of Daphne, who was the daughter of Gaia.⁵ Perhaps this laurel was thought of as an arbor locuta;⁶ that the spirits were supposed to enter it is shown by the belief that the tree, after Apollo had become god of the oracle, denoted his presence by the trembling of its boughs: Aristoph. *Plut.* 213, ἔχω τιν' ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδ' ἐξ ὧν εἰπέ μοι/δ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην; cf. Call. *hm.* *Ap.* 1; Verg. *Aen.* 3, 90 tremere omnia visa repente/limina laurusque dei; ib. 5, 154;

¹ Cf. Alcm. fr. 3; Aeschy. *Eum.* 1 sq.; Paus. 10, 5, 5 sq.; cf. Boettich. Baumk. 338 sq. Rohde, *Psy.* II, 58 sq.; Gruppe, Gr. Myth., p. 101, n. 6.

² Paus. 10, 24, 7; Gruppe, l. l.

³ Eurip. *Iph. T.* 1245 sq.; Pl. 15, 134, speaks of Delphi as 'lauriferam tellurem'; cf. Eur. *Ion*, 76; cf. h. Hom. *Ap.* 393.

⁴ Paus. 10, 5, 5.

⁵ Cf. Gruppe, l. l. Roscher's Lex. s. v.

⁶ Pl. 17, 243. This is true of the oak, myrtle, and cypress, classed with laurel by Pythagoras in the passage quoted above. Servius, commenting on Verg. *Aen.* 3, 359, *interpres divom, qui nomina Phoebi/qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis,* remarks: *Vergilius tria genera divinationum complexus est: per lauros geomantis, per sidera pyromantis, per praepetes aermantis;* cf. Isid. *Orig.* 8, 9, 13.

Ov. M. 15, 634; Sen. Oed. 233. The Schol. on Aristoph., l. 1, and Tryph. 365-6, tell us that the priestess shook the tree when delivering her prophecies. Gaia's priestess, too, continued to deliver Apollo's oracles, and regularly chewed¹ laurel and fumigated² herself with it before giving her responses. What aim these performances had it is difficult to say. Judging from similar practises common among savage peoples,³ we should be inclined to conclude that laurel possessed intoxicating properties, and "contributed to throw the priestess in the delirium which the ancients regarded as a sign of inspiration".⁴ There are, however, but few passages in ancient literature which support this interpretation: Tibul. 2, 5, 63, where the Sibyl says, *vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia lauros vescar*, where *innoxia* may refer to the danger of the continued use of a plant which caused frenzy, although it is possible to interpret it: 'may the furor divinus, the continued presence of the god in me, do me no harm'; Mart. 5, 4: *Foetere multo Myrtale solet vino/sed fallat ut nos, folia devorat lauri/ merumque cauta fronde, non aqua miscet./hanc tu rubentem prominentibus venis/quotiens venire, Paule, videris contra,/dicas licebit 'Myrtale bibit laurum';* the last words seem to imply that laurel, without the wine, would produce the same effects as wine, but the meaning may be that laurel prevents intoxication; this is supported by the statement of Pliny 17, 239, that *laurus laedit vitem*, cf. Theoph. h. pl. 5, 20, just as cabbage, of which the same statement is made,⁵ was thought to prevent intoxication;⁶ lastly, the Schol. on Hes. Theog. 30, commenting on the words *καὶ μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης*

¹ Cf. Soph. fr. 811 (N); Luc. Bis. Acc. 1; Hym. Mag. in Abel Orph., p. 288; Himer. Or. 28; cf. Luc. Diss. cum Hes. 8.

² Plut. de EI ap. Delph. 2; de Pyth. Or. 6; cf. Hom. hy. 2, 215.

³ Cf. Tylor, Prim. Cult. 2, 416.

⁴ So Frazer in his note on Paus. 10, 5, 5, suggests. Rabelais' Sibyl of Panzoust burned dry laurel leaves in her divination; Rabel. 3, ch. 17. As the laurel did not crackle it is interpreted as a bad omen. It may be noted that laurel was apparently burned in honor of the gods, cf. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 25, 5: *τὸ δὲ ἄρωμα τοῦτο οὐτω τι σπάνιον καθ' ἡμᾶς νῦν, ὃς φαιστὸν καὶ δάφνης φίλλα τοῖς θεοῖς θυμιάσθαι.* According to Alciphr. 3, 16, it was offered to them: *ἔφερες ἀν τοῖς θεοῖς κιττὸν καὶ δάφνας.*

⁵ Cf. Theoph. h. pl. 4, 16, 6; Pl. 17, 239. The antipathy of the vine to the cabbage is explained aetiologically by the story of Dionysus and Lycurgus, Geop. 12, 17, 7.

⁶ Cf. Aristot. Prob. 3, p. 873 A 37; Varro, de R. R. 1, 2, 28.

ἐριθηλέος ὅζον remarks, παρόστον ἡ δάφνη ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμούς, but this still leaves us the question 'how'; are the words to be taken in a literal or figurative sense? On the other hand, Pliny, even where he writes of plants used to produce visions,¹ makes no reference to any intoxicating property of laurel nor do any of the writers on medicine. It was used, however, to make wine: Dios. 5, 45; Pl. 14, 112, bacas aut lignum recens musto decoquunt; although the laurel may simply have given flavor, as its leaves were commonly used to season cakes; cf. Cato, de Ag. Cul. 121: mustaceos sic facito, . . . de virga lauri deradito eodem addito et ubi definxeris lauri folia subtus addito cum coques; cf. Pl. 15, 127; and for similar statements, Athen. 4, p. 140 D-E; Hesych. s. v. κάμματα; cf., too, the proverb, laureolam in mustaceo quaerere.²

Another explanation, moreover, is possible. It is evident that both the chewing of the laurel and the fumigation with the smoke from it had the same purpose, and when we remember that the Superstitious Man chewed laurel to keep off evil spirits,³ that the Romans burned it during the Parilia for the same reason,⁴ that laurel leaves, too, when burned, pestilentiae contagia prohibent,⁵ it may be that this idea underlay the practices of the Pythian priestess;⁶ expulsion is a more natural idea to a primitive man than inspiration,⁷ but both are necessary, and it is hard to distinguish them. Surely the need of protection against spirits is evident from the nature of the cave as an entrance to the lower world, and, what is more important, from the fact that directly beneath the omphalos was the grave of the Python.⁸ This would explain, too, why those who went to consult the oracle carried laurel branches or wore laurel crowns,⁹ and why the tripod was crowned

¹ 24, 160.

² Cic. ad Att. 5, 20, 4; cf. Otto, Spr., p. 236.

³ Theoph. Ch. 16; cf., above, p. 293. ⁴ Ov. F. 4, 741; cf., above, p. 297.

⁵ Pl. 23, 157.

⁶ So Gruppe, I. l., 890, n. 3; Harrison, I. l., 39; Boet. Baumk. 349, says that the chewing of the laurel has lustral signification.

⁷ Thus Rohde, Psy. 2, 58, n. 1, seems to explain it: In dem heiligen Gewächs steckt die vis divina; man schlingt sie durch Kauen in sich selbst hinein.

⁸ Varro, de L. L. 7, 17; other ref. in Rohde, I, 132, n. 2; Gruppe, 1433, n. 9; 928, n. 1.

⁹ Eur. Ion, 420; Hec. 458; Aristoph. Pax, 1044; Livy, 23, 11, 5; Plut. Arist. 20, 4. So when the Sibylline Books were opened, laurel was in evidence; cf. Vopis. Vit. Aurel. 20; cf. Stat. Silv. 4, 3, 118.

with it.¹ Our sources, it is true, do not tell us whether these practices were necessary before the coming of Apollo or not; the crowning of the tripod is mentioned only in connection with the god, but we may, it seems to me, safely conclude that they were.

The thing to be emphasized, in any event, is that laurel should stand in such close relationship with the spirits of the underworld. Not only was the oracle at Delphi an earth-oracle, which owed its power to such spirits, but, like similar oracles, the responses were not due, in the most ancient times, to a furor divinus, as they were later thought to be, but to dreams,² and dreams dwell beneath the earth.³ Hence laurel, when placed under a sleeper's head, caused true dreams.⁴ It is significant, too, that laurel was sacred to Asclepius,⁵ and brought into relation with Amphiaraus,⁶ both of whom foretold the future by means of dreams,⁷ and whose oracles owed their existence to the same ideas as the oracle of Python.⁸ It was connected, also, with Castor and Pollux, who had a grove of laurel trees near Pharae,⁹ and who may belong to the same circle;¹⁰ with Hercules,¹¹ too, who, however, seems to have become too much of an Olympian to have been the inspiring spirit of an earth-oracle as did the other heroes. We should put here, I think, the words of Aeschy.

¹ Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 39; *Eur. Ion*, 522; 1310; *Lucr.* 1, 739; *Stat. Theb.* 7, 707. According to Palaeph. *de Incred.* 50, 4, there was no tripod, throughout Boeotia, without its laurel; ὁ τρίποντος οὐκ ἀνεν τῆς δάφνης ἴδρυσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ χάσματος.

² *Eur. Iph. T.* 1259 sq.; *Rohde*, 2, 58; *Harrison*, 344; *Gruppe*, 931.

³ *Gruppe*, 934 sq.

⁴ Fulgent. 1, 14; Ps.-Galen. περὶ εὐπορίστων, 2, 27, 3. So in the magic papyri; cf. Pap. Anast. 370 (Wess.) where laurel is used as a means to procuring an oracular response in a dream; cf. 467; in Pap. CXXI (Brit. Mus.) 602, in a similar spell ascribed to Pythagoras and Democritus. In Rabelais 3, ch. 13, Panurge asks Pantagruel, who has advised him to try the efficacy of dreams in foretelling the future, whether it were not expedient to put a "branch or two of the curious laurel betwixt the quilt and bolster of my bed?"

⁵ Hence its name ἀσκληπίας, Hesych. s. v.; cf. E. M. 154, 48.

⁶ A laurel tree sprang from his lance, *Plut. par. min.* 6; he also wore a laurel crown, *Philostr. Imag.* 1, 27.

⁷ Cf. *Rohde*, *Psy.* 1, 113; 141.

⁸ *Gruppe*, 934 sq.; *Harrison*, 341 sq.

⁹ *Paus.* 7, 22, 5.

¹⁰ *Gruppe*, 1, 1.

¹¹ *Macr.* 3, 12, 1: cum ad aram maximam sola lauro capita et alia fronde non viciant; *Serv. ad. Aen.* 8, 276; cf. *Marq.-Momm. R. Staatsv.* 3, 186; cf. the story of Cacus, above, p. 288.

Supp. 704: θεοὺς δ' οἱ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν δεὶ/τίσιν ἐγχωρίους πατρώαις/δαφνη-
φόροισι βαυθύτοισι τιμᾶς, since, in a law of Draco, ap. Porphy. de
abs. 4, concerning such ceremonies, *ῆρωες* are included.¹

Nor is it strange, in view of these facts, that laurel was sacred to Dionysius,² for he, too, had a share in the oracle at Delphi³ which may likewise have been a dream oracle.⁴ And his grave was there in the temple of Apollo.⁵ How necessary, indeed, to an oracle was the grave of him who inspired it, whether god or demon, is shown by the statement of Pythagoras, Porphy. Vit. Py. 16, that Apollo was buried at Delphi after he had been slain by the Python. The use of laurel, too, in chthonic rites seems never to have entirely died out, for we read in an inscription concerning the Mysteries of Demeter and Ceres at Andania (Dittenb. Syll. 2, p. 464), σταυ δὲ οἱ ἵεροι παραγγεῖλωντι, τὰ μὲν στλεγ-
γίδα ἀποθέσθωσαν, στεφανούσθωσαν δὲ πάντες δάφναν.

Apollo, however, became sole lord at Delphi, and the ancient chthonic oracle with its sacred tree⁶ passed into the possession of the god of light. The laurel was made sacred to him,⁷ and we

¹ For its relation to Mars, to whom, also, it was sacred, Lyd. de men. 4, 4; cf. above, p. 293; Roscher, Lex. 2427; Fowler, Rom. Fest. 36. It may be noted that Mars was also an oracle god; Roscher, l. l., 2432; Laurel was also connected with Hermes, Ael. v. h. 2, 41; and Hermes was, above all "Sender of dreams"; cf. Hom. h. 3, 14; Roscher, Herm. d. Windg. 64 sq.

² Cf. Hom. h. 26, 9: κισσῷ καὶ δάφνῃ πεπυκασμένος. In Phigalia, his image was adorned with laurel leaves, Paus. 8, 30, 6; cf. Kaibel, Nachr. v. der Königl. Gesells. d. Wissens. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. 1901, 510; Tertul. de cor. mil. 12: corona . . . laurea ista Apollini vel Libero sacra est; in ib. 7, he tells us that in this crown ex Indis triumphavit, etiam vulgus agnoscit cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam; cf. Lenormant, Gaz. Arch. 2 (1876), 103.

³ Lucan, Phar. 5, 73; Plut. de EI apud Del. 9; cf. Rohde, 2, 54 sq.; Thraemer, Roscher's Lex. 1033.

⁴ Cf. Gruppe, 1415, n. 2; Thraemer, l. l.; otherwise, Rohde, 2, 59.

⁵ Philoch. F. H. G. 1, 22-3; Rohde, 1, 132, n. 2; Thraemer, l. l.

⁶ The belief that laurel possessed a fiery nature—cf. above,—may have contributed to bring about the close relation between this tree and Apollo, but the evidence shows, I think, that this was not the original idea, on which the relationship was based. This is, however, the explanation of Murr, Pflanzenw. d. My. 92 sq.; cf. Geop. 11, 2; Lyd. de men. 4, 4. He likewise derives the various uses of laurel from the various functions of the god.

⁷ It is unnecessary to cite further evidence on this point. References are particularly numerous in the Latin poets; cf. Verg. Ecl. 2, 54; 3, 63; Hor. Od. 4, 2, 9; Ov. M. 1, 558; Rem. Am. 75; Mart. 8, 82, 7; 9, 28, 9. So in inscriptions; cf. Ditt. Syll. 1, p. 349.

read that he was born under a laurel tree; Serv. ad Aen. 3, 91; cf. Eur. Hec. 456 sq.; his first temple at Delphi was made of laurel wood, Paus. 10, 5, 9; cf. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 6, 10, 34; Strabo, 9, 3, 9; he was represented as crowned with laurel,¹ Tibull. 2, 5, 5; Ov. M. 1, 565; Claud. Laus Herc. 7 sq.; so his priests, Verg. Aen. 3, 81; Eur. Ion, 78; Schol. Arist. Pax 1044; Eust. ad Il. 1, 14; apparently, too, laurel was used as an offering to Apollo, Plaut. Merc. 675, *aliquid cedo/qui hanc vicini nostri aram augeam./da sane hanc virgam lauri*, where the altar referred to seems to be that of Apollo; cf. Bacc. 172, *saluto te vicene Apollo*;² so in the lists of offerings found in his temples, we find δάφνης στεφάνων; cf. Ditt. Syll. 1, p. 461; 2, 321; especially Ins. 588; at the Pythian games the victor received a laurel crown;³ Paus. 10, 7, 8; 8, 48, 2; Pl. 15, 127; Dion Cass. 63, 9; and in Rome the spectators at the Ludi Apollinares wore laurel crowns, Fest., p. 23; Livy 25, 12, 15; Macr. 1, 17, 29; the god was called δαφνηφόρος,⁴ Plut. Them. 15, 2; Athen. 10, 424; Anacr. 13, 6; Paus. 9, 10, 4 with Frazer's note; δαφναιος, Anth. Pal. 9, 477; Philostr. Vit. A. 1, 16; Nonn. D. 38, 60; δαφνογηθής, Anth. Pal. 9, 525; δαφνόκυμος, ib. 9, 505, 11; Opp. Cyn. 1, 365; δαφνοπώλης, Hesych. s. v.; we read of songs called δαφνηφορικά, Poll. 4, 53; Suid. s. v. Πίνδαρος; according to Anton. Liber. 1, Hermochares grasped a laurel when he swore an oath by Apollo; in a passage in Euseb. Praep. Evang. 5, 9, 8, Apollo, in order to free himself from the magic bands which keep him on earth bids the

¹ For the laurel crown in art, cf. Roscher, Apol. u. Mars, 90, rem. 207; Gruppe, 1259 sq.

² Cf. the words of Hermes in Aristoph. Plut. 1113, ἀφ' οὐ γὰρ ἡμέατ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς βλέπειν/δ Πλοῦτος οὐδεὶς οὐ λιβανωτόν, οὐ δάφνην, /οὐ φαιστόν, οὐχ λερεῖον, οὐκ ἄλλ' οὐδεὲν/ἡμῖν ἔτι θύει τοῖς θεοῖς; cf. Pl. 16, 137; Alciph. 3, 16. So the altars of Apollo were also decorated with laurel, as we gather from ib. Thes. 489, εἰτ' ἔρειδομαι/παρὰ τὸν Ἀγνᾶ κνέδ' ἔχομένη τῆς δάφνης. According to Herod. 4, 15 laurel trees grew around the statues of Apollo and Aristeas. According to Athen. 13, 605 C the laurel tree was of bronze.

³ So in the funeral games described by Verg. Aen. 5, 246; 539. It is a significant fact that some ancient writers derive the origin of the four great Greek games from funeral games; cf. Frazer's note on Paus. 1, 44, 8. May not this, in view of what has been said of the laurel above, aid us to explain why all the crowns, which were given as prizes at these games, were made of powerful prophylactic plants?

⁴ Cf. Latin *lauriger*, Ov. A. A. 3, 389; *lauripotens*, Mart. Capel. 1, 24; cf. 1, 20.

sacred crown to be taken from him, the laurel branch removed from his hand: *χειρὸς δεξιτερῆς δάφνης κλάδον ἄπατε χερσὶ*, etc. In the magic papyri, laurel is spoken of as *δάφνη μαντοσύνης ιερὸν φυτὸν* 'Απόλλωνος, cf. Pap. Anast. 5 (XLVII, Brit. Mus.) 6; 40-1; Berl. Pap. (Parthey), II, 81; in Leid. Pap. 395 (W in Leemans), 13, 16-18, the performer of a charm is directed to hold a statue of Apollo, cut from a root of laurel; so in 15, 14-15; in Berl. Pap. II, 21, we read, *κλάδους δάφνης ἔχων ἐν χερσίν . . . λέγε τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἐπίκλησιν*; cf. I, 280, in an 'Απολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις: τὸ φυλακτήριον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ (χειρὶ), τουτέστιν τὸν κλάδον τῆς δάφνης; cf. 338; in the same charm, 264 sq. the magic characters are written on seven laurel leaves; cf. II, 11; 28 sq.; Pap. Par. (Wess.) 2207; Pap. Lugd. W (ed. Dieterich, Abraxas), p. 24, 23.

From this connection with the god of inspiration, whether prophetic or poetic, laurel became the symbol of both prophecy¹ and poetry; Geop. II, 3, *μαντικῆς σύμβολον ἐγένετο τὸ φυτόν*; cf. II, 5; Cedren. I, p. 532; Lyd. de men. 4, 4; Eust. ad Hom. Il. I, 14; Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 2, 109, writes *venturi praescia laurus*; de Con. Stil. 3, 59, *fatidicas . . . laurus*. Hence it was borne by seers and bards; cf. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 26, 8, *cum aliquis genibus per viam repens ululat laurumque linteatus senex et medio lucernam die praeferens*; with this passage should be compared the strikingly similar one in Apul. Met. XI. 10, describing the procession in honor of Isis,² where one of the "antistites sacrorum", *auream vannum laureis congestam ramulis . . . ferebat*; cf. Hesych. s. v. *ἱθυντήριον*; so Mopsus, the seer, was distinguished by laurel, Valer. Fl. 1, 209; 386; 3, 434; 4, 547; and other prophets, Sen. Ag. 609; Stat. Th. 4, 598; I, 42; 7, 784; Ov. A. A. 2, 401; cf. ib. M. 15, 591; more frequently of bards: Ov. A. A. 2, 495, *sacris induta capillis/laurus erat: vates ille videndus adit*; cf. Ep. ex Pon. 2, 5, 67; Verg. Ecl. 8, 13; Hor. Od. 3, 30, 15; 3, 4, 19; 4, 2, 9; Mart. 12, 3, 11; Claud. de Con. Stil. 3, *praef. 20*. So Hesiod sang with

¹ We must remember, however, its ancient association with the Pythian oracle. Owing to this and to its connection with Apollo, such expressions as "Delphica laurus" or simply "laurus" = 'prophecy'; cf. Sen. Oed. 16; Stat. Theb. 7, 707; 8, 203.

² Ovid, Am. 2, 13, 18 also refers to the use of laurel in connection with Isis: *saepe tibi (sc. Isi) sedit certis operata diebus,/qua tingit laurus Gallica turma tuas*. For statues of Men bearing laurel, cf. Roscher, Lex. s. v. 2695; 2745.

a laurel wand in his hand,¹ Paus. 9, 30, 3; cf. Hes. Theog. 30. Hence, poets gain inspiration by chewing laurel, Juv. 7, 19, *necit quicumque canoris/eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit*; Lycoph. 6 calls a bard *δαφνηφάγος*; cf. Call. Hym. Del. 94, ἀλλ' ἔμπησ ἐρέω τι τορώτερον ἡ ἀπὸ δάφνης, Colum. de Cul. Hor. 216; Stat. Achil. 1, 509, calls the divine inspiration of Apollo 'laurigeros ignes'.²

It is a noteworthy fact that laurel, in spite of its connection with Apollo, the god of healing, is not mentioned as a medicinal plant by Hippocrates or Theophrastus, Dioscorides being the first to describe it as such.³ Its wide-spread use, therefore, as a folk remedy, as shown by the importance given to it by later writers on medicine, must rest primarily upon the belief in its power over demons, although its relation to Apollo must have had great influence. The employment of laurel in purificatory rites in time of pestilence,—cf. above,—must have been due to the former idea, which is illustrated too, by a statement in Herodian. 1, 12, that during a pestilence in Rome Κόμμαδος . . . εἰς τὴν Δαύρεντον ἀνεχώρησεν εὐψυχέστερον γὰρ ὅν τὸ χωρίον καὶ μεγίστοις κατάσκιον δαφνηφόροις ἀλοεσιν . . . σωτήριον ἔναι εἴδόκει καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος φθορὰν ἀντέχειν ἐλέγετο εὐωδίᾳ τε τῆς τῶν δαφνῶν ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῇ τῶν δίνδρων ἡδείᾳ σκιᾶ. And Pl. 23, 157, says: *laurus Delphicae folia trita olfactaque subinde pestilentiae contagia prohibent: tanto magis si et urantur.* The naive idea underlying such statements is well illustrated by the words of Lyd. de men. 4, 4: οὐδὲ γὰρ ιερὰ νόσος ἡ δαιμῶν βαρὺς ἐνοχλήσει τῷ τόπῳ ἐν φ δάφνη ἐστίν; cf. Geop. 11, 2, 7. Hence, Nicand. Ther. 943, gives δάφνης σπερμεῖον as one of the ingredients of a mixture *πάσχοις ἀλεξητήριον ἄταις*; and Pl. 23, 154, says of it: *perunctos eo fugiunt venenata omnia; . . . bacae cum vino serpentibus et scorpionibus et araneis resistunt;* similar statements are made by Nican. Ther. 574; Cass. Fel. 67; Theod. Pris. Eup. F. 24, 74. We also read in Pl. 8, 101, *corvus occiso chamaeleone qui etiam victori nocet, lauro infectum virus extinguit.* According to Geop. 11, 2, 5, ὑγείας ἐστὶ ἐργαστική; cf. Lyd. de men. 4, 4; and in another place, 2, 7, 3, we are

¹ Cf. Panofka, Arch. Zeit. 8 (1856), p. 254. On this custom, cf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1367; Hesych. s. v. *αλσακος*; Et. M. 38, 48.

² Sabinus, Ep. 1, 126, speaking of some poet, says: *sic cecinit laurus ille monere suas.*

³ Cf. Koch, Bäume u. Sträucher des alten Griechenl., p. 90.

told that when laurel is soaked in water it makes it healthy. Artemid. On. 4, 57, informs us that for sick people to dream of the olive, signifies death, of the laurel, life, and he explains by adding that the dead were laid out on olive leaves, never on laurel.¹ Interesting, in view of the supposed fiery nature of laurel,—cf. above,—is its use for fever: Diosc. 1, 106; Pl. 23, 156; Cass. Fel. 55. It is unnecessary to give in detail the many diseases for which it was employed as a cure; for them, cf. Dios., l. l., Pl. 23, 152 sq.; Galen. de Fac. Simp. Med. 6, 169. It is to be noted that laurel is seldom recommended for violent convulsive diseases,² as we should have expected on the principle of *similia similibus*, if the chewing of laurel leaves by the Pythian priestess is to be explained by its intoxicating properties. It was used, however, to cure mad animals,³ Veget. 5, 42, 2; cf. Pelag. 407, and Theod. Pris. Log. 3, 15, prescribes it for people who are afflicted with lethargy.⁴

¹ This explanation can hardly go to the root of the matter, since the use of the olive, in such a case, must rest upon a belief in the prophylactic powers of the olive,—powers which, as we have seen, laurel possessed to a high degree. Servius seems to reverse the matter in his note on the purificatory use of the olive in funeral rites, Verg. Aen. 6, 230; cf. above, p. 289; he says of 'felicis olivae', arboris festae, sed moris fuerat ut de lauro fieret. He then quotes Donatus to the effect that Vergil made the change on account of Augustus, because of the fact that a laurel tree sprang up on the day of his birth, the branches of which furnished crowns for triumphators; therefore 'noluit laurum dicere ad officium lugebre pertinere'; cf. Pliny cited above p. 297. The explanation of such conflicting statements may lie in the fact that the laurel, owing to its connection with Apollo, lost the chthonic associations which it undoubtedly once possessed. Upon these words of Servius Boetticher, Baumk. 352, bases his statement: 'bei Todtenweihen ist der Lorbeer von den Alten überall ausgeschlossen.'

² In none of the authors quoted. But in the Ms. on Acute and Chronic Diseases, ed. Fuchs, Rh. Mus. 58 (1903) pp. 67 sq. we find laurel wine is mentioned among the *σπασμῶν θεραπεία*, p. 92, l. 9; and also prescribed for convulsions in cases of hydrophobia, p. 106, l. 9. In both instances, however, the body of the patient is to be rubbed with the wine.

³ It may be noted that laurel was thought to be deadly poison to the goose, Ael. N. An. 5, 29. So the so-called rhododaphne was said to be poisonous to all animals, Pl. 6, 20, 33; Luc. Asinus, 17; Apul. M. 4, 2. We find laurel often recommended for sick beasts; Cato, 70, 1; Colum. 6, 7, 3; 13, 3; Veget. 1, 12, 4; 5, 58, 2; Pelag. 205; 245; so Pl. 10, 157, advises a 'cubitus in fumo . . . ex lauro' for chickens suffering from pituita.

⁴ So in the Ms. referred to, Fuchs p. 76, l. 14.

Some interesting statements in regard to its use are made by Marc. Emp. Cf. 1, 67, a cure for headache:¹ duo folia lauri circumcisa rotundabis resinaque terebinthina glutinabis et utrisque temporibus adfiges, nisi redditia sanitate non decident. 26, 94: calculosis expertus adfirmat incredibiliter succurri remedio tali, si hircum, melius si agrestem, melius si anniculum et si mense Augusto claudas loco sicco per triduum, ut ei solas laurus edendas subministres et aquae nihil accipiat; ad postremum tertio die, id est aut Iovis aut Solis, occidas. Melius autem erit si castus purusque fuerit et qui occidit et qui accipiet remedium. The goat's blood is then burned to ashes in a clay vase which is afterward pounded into dust. In other cases the method amounts to simple magic, as 16, 25, where for a cough three grains of pepper and three laurel berries are to be taken first, then five, seven, nine, and then in reversed order down to three again; cf. 26, 30.

In magic, indeed, laurel must always have played an important rôle. Some examples of its use have been given above. Equally interesting, and showing more clearly the close connection between laurel and the spirits of the underworld, is a passage in Heliod. 6, 14; the Egyptian witch, in her magic rites to bring her son to life, makes a paste of dough, works it into the likeness of a man, and, after crowning it with laurel and fennel, throws it into the ditch into which she had previously poured an offering of honey, milk, and wine. She then cuts her arm with a sword, dips a branch of laurel in the blood, and sprinkles it over the fire; owing to the power of such spells the dead returned to life. In ib. 4, 5, when Calasiris pretends to free Charicles from the effects of the 'evil-eye' with a branch of laurel, he strokes the maiden several times from head to foot. Hippolytus, Refut. om. Haer. 4, 28, describes a magic incantation, when all who are present hold laurel branches and shake them. In Apul. M. 3, 23, Fotis tells Lucius, when he expresses a fear that, after he has turned himself into a bubo he may not be able to regain his proper form, 'tanta res procuretur herbulis: anethi modicum cum lauri foliis immistum rore fontano datur lavacrum et poculum'. In a magic performance described by Am. Marcel. 29, 1, 29, the tripod is made of laurel wood. Medea as a witch, appears in art with twigs of laurel;² and according to

¹ Cf. Pl., l. l., Dios., l. l., Scrib. Larg. 3-5; Fuchs, l. l., p. 84, l. 12.

² Cf. Baum. Denkm. 2, 903; Jahn, Rh. Mus. 6, 296; Roscher's Lex. 2501.

Orph. Arg. 916, laurel was one of the trees which grew in the garden of Hecate.¹ In Pap. Par. (Wess.) 2582, laurel is part of the offering in a Διαβολή πρὸς Σελήνην; cf. 2648; in Ber. Pap. II, 35, it is one of the ingredients of a magic ink; and the following charm to catch a thief occurs in Pap. Anast. 203 sq.: ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ λαβὼν ἄγγος καλλάινον βάλε ὕδωρ καὶ ζυρναν καὶ κυνοκέφαλον βύτ καὶ ἐμβρέχων κλάδον δάφνης ἔνα ἔκαστον ἀποκαθαίρων ὑ τρίποδα ἐπίθεε, κτέ.

The above citations, which I have endeavored, although I cannot hope to have fully succeeded, to make exhaustive in regard to all the important uses of laurel, support, it seems to me, the following conclusions which were derived from a study of numerous folk-lore plants: 1. Only the plants which are indigenous² to Greece or Italy, or which were, at least, in use there in prehistoric ages, were used in native religious rites. 2. These rites are connected with spirit worship; the plant was either employed directly as an offering to the souls of the dead, was used in purificatory rites which generally imply the presence of such souls, or was sacred to chthonic powers. 3. A corollary of the second, the plant was endowed with prophylactic powers; it could keep off spirits as such, or in the form of snakes and other noxious animals. It was endowed, also, with various magical properties. 4. It was employed in medicine, not in accordance with any medicinal quality which it may possess but in a manner corresponding to the supposed demonic nature of disease.

¹ Contrast with this Vergil's lines, Aen. 6, 656, in his description of the 'sedes beatae,' conspicit . . . alios . . . canentes inter odoratum lauri nemus. These two passages well illustrate the two-fold tradition in regard to laurel, the one resting upon its ancient association with the spirit world, the other upon its connection with Apollo and all the symbolism which sprang from such connection.

² It is pretty well agreed that the laurel is indigenous to Greece; cf. Lenz, Botan. d. Gr. u. Röm. 450 sq.; Koch, I. l.; Murr, I. l., 92 sq. The opinion of Hehn, Kulturpfl. u. Haust. 197 sq. that it came into Europe from Asia Minor, perhaps in the train "einer lustrienden Religion" is surely not justified by the evidence. The question in regard to Italy is not as clear, and Hehn thinks that it was introduced there with the Apollo-cult. Such a theory, however, makes it difficult to account for the presence of laurel in the Mars-cult, in some of the most primitive of Roman religious rites; cf. Roscher, Lex. s. v. Mars 1247; and Preller-Jordan, Röm. My. 302, n. 2. It may, therefore, be native to Italy, also, as some authorities claim; cf. Pickering, Chron. Hist. of Plants, s. v. 'Laurel'; Schimper, Pflanzen-Geogr. 551.

It is impossible, of course, to determine definitely to what folk-philosophy laurel originally owed its connection with the spirit-world. We seem to be carried back to a time when the tree was a fetish,¹ and Gruppe² may be right in maintaining that this developed out of a more primitive fire worship. With the belief that a demon dwelt in a tree to start from, we can understand how the various ideas concerning laurel could have developed.

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¹ For evidences of the tree-fetish in Greece, cf. Gruppe, pp. 779 sq.

² Ib., p. 784.

IV.—THE ORIGIN OF THE ACCENTUAL PROSE RHYTHM IN GREEK.

The first appearance of a well developed accentual rhythm in Greek prose falls at some time between 300 and 400 A. D. The older prose rhythm based on quantity at this time became obsolete, and the new principle of accentuation by stress instead of pitch, which was already well established in the spoken language, was recognized and adopted by the literary language. At about the same time there appeared in Latin prose an accentual rhythm which is practically the same as that in Greek. In both cases the rhythm consists in a careful arrangement of word accents at the ends of clauses by which the last two spoken accents are separated by either two or four unstressed syllables.¹ The question now is: was this rhythm developed in one of the languages, and taken over ready made by the writers of the other, or did it grow up independently in each?

For several centuries before the introduction of this accentual rhythm writers of prose, both Latin and Greek, had used a rhythm which was based on syllabic quantity. This particular quantitative rhythm, which was common to both languages, is generally believed to have originated in the Asianic school of Greek Oratory in the third century B. C., when Hegesias of Magnesia and others abandoned the flowing periodic style of the Attic Orators, and introduced in its place the so-called "commatic style", which was characterized by a choppy sentence structure and a rhythm which seemed to later critics to give too much of a sing-song effect by its extreme regularity. The rhythm used by these writers was primarily a rhythm of *clausulae*; a certain number of metrical forms were selected and used as closing cadences of commata and of *cola*. The Attic Orators had avoided this artificial limitation of accepted rhythmical forms,

¹The accentual prose rhythm was first explained by Wilhelm Meyer: "Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom IV bis XVI Jahrhundert", Göttingen, 1891; the law regulating the arrangement of accents in *clausulae* has been known since that time as Meyer's Law.

and had allowed no such monotonous repetition of similar metrical combinations at the ends of clauses. But in spite of the many faults of the Asianic style, and the almost universal condemnation which it received, the prose rhythm which the Asianists introduced found many imitators, even among their critics. It was only natural that the Roman orators of the first century B. C. should have been under the influence of Hegesias and other Asianic writers as well as their greater predecessors, and the rhythm at least of the commatic style was, with some reserve, adopted by them. The case is fairly plain in Cicero; he follows the Asianists in showing especial care for the rhythm of his clausulae, and in the choice of the particular rhythms used. This quantitative rhythm, therefore, which originated in Greek at about 300 B. C., was taken over into Latin, and continued in use in both languages until the accentual rhythm came into use in the fourth century. Nothing could be more natural than to suppose that the common quantitative rhythm passed naturally into the common accentual rhythm in the two languages independently and at the same time. This is exactly the thing which I shall attempt to prove did *not* happen.

The situation in Latin is comparatively simple; it has been recognized by those who have written on the subject that there must have been some kind of a direct development from a quantitative to an accentual scheme *in Latin*. The transition from the one to the other was a perfectly natural, and perhaps unconscious process. It is only in regard to the details of the process that there can be any disagreement. In the first centuries after Christ the forms of the quantitative rhythm which were considered desirable for clausulae became more limited in number, so that the great majority of clausulae could be classed under one of three heads: cretic-trochaic (e. g., *in parte naturae*), cretic-ditrochaic (e. g., *existimant nuncupari*) and dicretic (e. g., *aedificatur e motibus*). It was noticed by Louis Havet¹ and by Wilhelm Meyer² that all these quantitative Forms when read accentually correspond exactly to the regular Forms of the

¹La prose métrique de Symmache; et les origines métriques du cursus. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, 94 (1892).

²Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik II, pp. 236-286 (Die rhythmische lateinische Prosa), esp. p. 261 ff. (This article was first printed as a review of Havet: La prose métrique de Symmache, in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1893.)

accentual rhythm; while the quantitative Forms which produce irregular accentual Forms are found to be in each case variations from the three typical Forms of clausulae given above, produced either by changing the position of the caesura, or by the resolution of long syllables. For example, the commonest quantitative Form, — v , — $\text{—}\text{v}$ (*in parte naturae*), which equals the regular accentual Form 2¹ ($\text{z}\sim, \sim\text{z}\sim$), is frequently found in the modified form, — v , $\text{vv}\text{—}\text{v}$ (*tempus oriatur*), or vvv , — $\text{—}\text{v}$ (*generis humani*); this resolution in each case produces the irregular accentual Form 3, $\text{z}\sim\sim, \sim\text{z}\sim$. This fact led Meyer to offer this explanation: when writers of rhythmical prose in the third and fourth century after Christ began to think in terms of word accent rather than syllabic quantity, the arrangement of word accents in the traditional types of clausulae came to be noted with increasing care, until the grouping of accents was regarded as the essential element in the rhythm of clausulae; at the same time the arrangement of syllabic quantities came to be more and more neglected, until they faded out, as it were, leaving the old shell for the new inhabitant. Thus the arrangement of word accents, which had been entirely secondary—the accidental result of the arrangement of syllabic quantities—came to be the essential element in the rhythm, while the quantities which had been the really essential element were gradually relegated to second place. A transition of this sort must have been gradual and for the most part unconscious. It was not effected by a deliberate substitution of accent for quantity; it came about because the accentual scheme *which was already present* in the traditional rhythm was kept, while the quantitative scheme was gradually neglected and forgotten.

A somewhat different explanation has been offered by J. J. Schlicher.² He gives as the reason for the change from quanti-

¹ The accentual Forms are here designated as Form 1, Form 2, etc.; the numeral in each case gives the number of unstressed syllables *between* the two *word-accents* of the clausula. The regular accentual Forms are Forms 2, 4 and possibly 6, all having an *even* number of syllables between accents; the irregular accentual Forms are Forms 1, 3 and 5, all having an *uneven* number of syllables between accents. Of the irregular class Form 3 enjoys the greatest tolerance, so that in some writers it is found to occur half as frequently as Form 4; in other writers its use is so limited that it must be regarded as one of the distinctly avoided class.

² *Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin*, Chicago, 1900, pp. 83 ff.

tative to accentual clausulae the increasing difficulty in handling syllabic quantities; this difficulty led to certain devices which accidentally produced the groupings of word accents which characterize the accentual rhythm. The details of this theory may be passed over; the essential point in relation to this discussion is this, that Schlicher agrees with Meyer in recognizing the close relation between the quantitative and the accentual rhythm, and the necessity of supposing some kind of a development from the one to the other. This is the only really important thing for our present purpose, and about it there cannot be the slightest doubt.¹

An examination of the clausulae of Latin writers of the third and fourth centuries shows plainly that the accentual rhythm existed in the quantitative rhythm, and that the only thing needed to suggest

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Form 6
Fronto.....	18.5	38.5	23.5	16	2.5	1
Apuleius.....	16.3+	38	22.3+	18.6+	3.6+	1
Min. Felix.....	2.5	32.5	31.5	31	2.5	0
Tertullian.....	10.3+	46.3+	24	15	2.6+	1.6+
Cyprian.....	5.6+	49.6+	15.3+	28.3+	1	0
Arnobius.....	2.6+	63.2+	8.7+	23.6+	1.2+	.5+
Lactantius ...	6	42.75	26.50	22.75	2	0
Eumenius.....	3	39	31	26	1	0

the preferred accentual Forms was to read the quantitative clausulae accentually. This statement does not apply equally to all writers who used quantitative clausulae. Not *until* the third century is that particular phase of the quantitative rhythm found which marks the beginning of the transition. In the second century Fronto and Apuleius and Minucius Felix wrote with careful regard for the quantitative law of clausulae, but when their clausulae are read accentually there is found to be no suggestion of the later preference for the accentual Forms 2 and 4.² The same is true of Tertullian and Lactantius in the third century, as well as the panegyrist Eumenius. On the other hand Cyprian and Arnobius in the same century treated the quantitative rhythm

¹ The view of Louis Havet (*La prose métrique de Symmache*, p. 9f.), according to which the accentual rhythm as such first appeared in Latin in the twelfth century does not affect this discussion.

² Meyer: (*Ges. Abh.* II, p. 242) names Minucius as one of those writers whose clausulae suggested the accentual scheme.

in such a way that the effect of the accentual rhythm is distinctly present, in that the accentual Forms 2 and 4 predominate over all other accentual Forms. It has been found that the different accentual Forms occur in the clausulae of the writers named in about the above percentages.¹

Only in Cyprian and Arnobius do the regular accentual Forms 2 and 4 plainly predominate over all others.² The situation in Minucius Felix is striking in that Forms 2, 3 and 4 are so largely represented, but there is still no definite suggestion of the accentual rhythm, for in that rhythm it is essential that Form 3 be at least limited in use.

That limitation comes first in Cyprian, and more distinctly in Arnobius. The accentual law which obtains in their clausulae is not a law in itself at all, but only the accidental result of a carefully constructed *quantitative* rhythm which happened to avoid those quantitative Forms which show an uneven number of syllables between the two word accents of the clausula; this was accomplished by interpreting the quantitative law in its strictest sense and allowing the least possible variation from the typical Forms, both as to the position of the caesura and the resolution of long syllables. Thus the first definite suggestion of the accentual law is found in writers who constructed their clausulae on the basis of syllabic quantity only. In the following century it would appear that the Forms of clausulae which had been given preference by such writers as Cyprian and Arnobius came to be valued for their accentual cadence chiefly, and were so used first by Ammianus Marcellinus. Still the transition from a quantitative to an accentual base was a gradual one, for Ammianus still retained something of the traditional quantitative cadence in his clausulae, while his contemporary Symmachus

¹ The figures here given are based on tests which are admittedly limited in scope: only from 200 to 800 clausulae before heavy punctuation were counted in each writer; but this is sufficient to show in each case whether any suggestion of the accentual rhythm is present. Further investigation might show certain minor modifications to be necessary, but the proportions which are thus found to exist between the different accentual Forms are given as substantially correct for each writer.

² The same is true of the unknown author of the 5th Panegyric in the collection known as "xii Panegyrici Latini;" also in Pan. III by Mamertinus there is found this same suggestion of the accentual law, but not in Pan. II by the same writer.

shows the greatest care in making his clausulae conform to the quantitative law. After Ammianus other Latin writers took up the accentual rhythm, and it became a recognized ornament for all kinds of rhetorical prose.

The question of origin has not been so easy to settle on the Greek side. It has been recognized that the probability of an independent origin for the Greek accentual rhythm is very small, because the sameness of the rhythm in the two languages almost demands a common origin, and the generally accepted view has been that the rhythm was taken over by Greek writers from the Latin ready-made. A protest has been raised against this view by Prof. G. L. Hendrickson in a recent number of the American Journal of Philology.¹ He finds evidence of a direct development in Greek from the quantitative rhythm to the accentual rhythm in the Epistle to the Corinthians by Clement of Rome; there seems to be here a combination of the two systems, for both syllabic quantity and word accent appear to be used to mark the rhythm of clausulae. If this observation is correct, it is necessary to put the time of the beginning of the accentual rhythm three centuries earlier than the time heretofore believed to be correct.

Before taking up this view one point must be noted. The development which Professor Hendrickson supposes to have taken place is quite different from that which transformed Latin quantitative clausulae into accentual clausulae. Indeed the development could never have taken place along those lines in Greek, simply because the position of Greek word accents is regulated only in part by syllabic quantities,² and it is not within the reach of possibility that a fixed order of syllabic quantities could give a starting point for a fixed order of word accents in the way in which this took place in Latin. This may be made clear by examples. We may start from the quantitative unit cretic + trochee, the most frequent combination in the Asiatic rhythm of Greek prose as well as Latin. This sequence of quantities can be represented in Greek in the following ways

¹ Accentual Clauses in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries of Our Era, A. J. P. XXIX 3 (1908).

² It should be observed that only the *position* of word accents is to be considered, for in the accentual rhythm no distinction is made between acute, grave and circumflex: each kind of accent simply marks a *stressed* syllable.

(following the preference of the quantitative rhythm in allowing only a clausula of two words and a feminine caesura):

$\delta\epsilon\nu\circ\dot{s}$	$\ddot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\circ\dot{s}$	= (accentually) ~ ~ , ~ ~ ~ (Form o)
$\delta\epsilon\nu\circ\dot{u}$	$\ddot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\circ\dot{u}$	= (") ~ ~ , ~ ~ ~ (" 1)
$\ddot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\circ\dot{s} \delta\epsilon\nu\circ\dot{s}$	= (")	~ ~ ~ , ~ ~ (" 3)
$\delta\epsilon\nu\circ\dot{s}$	$'\text{Η}\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\circ\dot{s}$	= (") ~ ~ , ~ ~ ~ (" 2)
$\mu\mu\circ\dot{s}$	$\epsilon\nu\delta\alpha\imath\mu\omega\circ\dot{s}$	= (") ~ ~ , ~ ~ ~ (" 2)

These examples are sufficient to make clear the point that Greek quantitative clausulae could never of themselves suggest *any* accentual rhythm, because in contrast to the Latin clausulae, the position of word accents has so little to do with syllabic quantity. A Greek of the fourth century, who pronounced his words with a stress accent, reading prose of an earlier period which was rhythmized on the basis of quantity, would find no regularly recurring groups of accents in clausulae; while he *would* find such regularly recurring groups of accents in the Latin prose of such writers as Cyprian and Arnobius, which had practically the same quantitative rhythm. It is necessary, therefore, to look for a different sort of development from a quantitative to an accentual basis; *if* Greek writers worked out the rhythm for themselves, they must have proceeded along quite different lines from those followed on the Latin side. And yet the result is the same in both languages. Judging the matter *a priori*, it seems improbable that the two languages should evolve independently the same accentual rhythm, when the development had to be of a distinctly different kind in each. It is agreed that both languages had the same quantitative rhythm to begin from; that rhythm had been developed by the Asianic school of Greek Oratory and borrowed by the Latin writers; but it still remains difficult to account for the production in Greek of an accentual rhythm in most respects like that in Latin, although there is no possibility of the same kind of a transition as that which seems to have taken place in Latin. To this difficulty must be added the fact that there was considerable difference in detail in the treatment of the quantitative rhythm in the two languages, so that in practice the rhythmical schemes were not identical, but only similar.

But there is still another difficulty in the way of the explanation offered by Prof. Hendrickson. His argument may be stated as follows: granting that Greek quantitative clausulae had in themselves no suggestion of the accentual Forms which were

to be, there is still the possibility that *accented* syllables came to be substituted for *long* syllables; this substitution may have been conscious or unconscious—the result would have been the same. There is abundant evidence, as Prof. Hendrickson points out, to show that as early as the second century B. C. the confusion between accented syllables and long syllables was common. Both in inscriptions and papyri long vowels are often found written in the place of short vowels, when they bear a word accent; and long unstressed vowels are wrongly written as short. This must be accounted for by the influence of the spoken language, in which the pitch accent was giving way to the stress accent. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to believe that the writers of rhythmical prose were influenced by this confusion to allow accented syllables (long or short) to take the place of long syllables; in the course of time quantity would entirely disappear as an element in the rhythm, and word accent would stand in its place.

The process which is supposed to have taken place may be outlined as follows. Starting with the typical quantitative clausula δεινός ἀνθρωπος, there are three long syllables for which accented syllables might have been substituted: δεινός might have been replaced by such a word as ὁδε; but what is to become of the last word? Both longs cannot be turned into stressed syllables, for we must suppose that the two-word clausula with the feminine caesura will be retained. Naturally the word accent will be used in place of that one of the two longs which carries the heavier metrical stress. Now the cretic foot is believed to have been the basis of all quantitative clausulae in the Asianic rhythm, and it is to be expected that the individuality of this unit will be retained at the sacrifice of everything else, for the hypothesis supposes that *the quantitative units are to be translated into terms of word accent*. But there is no trace of an accentual cretic in the accentual clausulae; rather it is rigidly avoided. No writer treats as regular such a close as μέγα μίασμα, which might fairly be said to give in terms of accent the effect of the quantitative unit cretic + trochee. It is necessary, therefore, to account for the disappearance of the cretic by proving that accent was substituted for quantity only in the thesis (in the Greek sense) of the *trochee*. We should then get the desired result, namely two unstressed syllables between the two word accents. For example the rhythm of δεινός ἀνθρωπος might be represented by ὁδε πανοῦργος. This is the crux of the whole matter, and until it is conclusively proved

that the one substitution was avoided (that in the second thesis of the cretic), while the other was favored, the whole theory is involved in uncertainty. The evidence found by Prof. Hendrickson in the Epistle to the Corinthians is hardly sufficient to prove this point, but as far as it goes it bears out the view that accent *was* substituted for quantity by preference in the thesis of the trochee: the form *ἀλήθεια* does not stand as a final word in clausulae, although when preceded by a long syllable (e. g., *καὶ ἀλήθεια*), it makes a correct quantitative clausula; but the clausula *τῆς ἀληθείας* (quantitatively equivalent to *καὶ ἀλήθεια*) does occur. Similarly such a phrase as *καὶ ταπεινώσις* is not found as a clausula, but there are cases like *καὶ ταπεινώσει*. Apart from this peculiar treatment of these two words, Prof. Hendrickson finds nothing to prove that accent tended to replace quantity *only* in the first thesis of the cretic and in the thesis of the trochee.

These general difficulties in the way of Prof. Hendrickson's theory are sufficient to bring it into grave doubt; but it is further found to be inconsistent with the facts revealed by an examination of the clausulae of different Greek writers of the fourth century and before. Tests have been made in some twenty five Greek writers, beginning with Dio Chrysostom and Clement of Rome in the first century, and ending with Cyril and Proclus in the fifth century. Since Clement is the writer chiefly concerned in Prof. Hendrickson's argument, his case may be now presented, not only for its own sake, but because it may be regarded as typical of what is to be expected in any Greek writer before the middle of the fourth century. Considering the matter from its general aspect, the following principle must be a correct one: if there is such a partial transfer to an accentual principle in the marking of the rhythm in clausulae as that which Prof. Hendrickson supposes, some suggestion of the accentual scheme must be apparent when all the clausulae are read accentually; in other words, statistics should show that the preferred Forms of accentual clausulae show some tendency to predominate over the accentual Forms which were avoided when the accentual rhythm was well established; there should be, therefore, more clausulae which read accentually as Form 2 or 4 than those which read as Form 0, 1, 3 or 5.¹ But a test shows that this is not true; the

¹ Clausulae are classified according to the number of unstressed syllables which separate the last two accents of a clause, the numeral in each case giving the number of such syllables. The position of the caesura and the

different accentual Forms occur in a proportion which must be regarded as purely accidental; there is no tendency to group accents in clausulae in any definite sequences. It is therefore beside the point to look for any transition from the quantitative to the accentual scheme, or any compromise between the two principles in this writer. If a tendency toward a preference for the regular accentual Forms cannot be demonstrated in this general way, the detailed evidence which Professor Hendrickson has found can have no standing whatever.

The results of the tests made in some of the Greek writers are here given in tabular form;¹ the usage of these writers may be regarded as typical of the conditions which may be expected in any writer before and after the introduction of the accentual rhythm. All figures give percentages.

	Form 0	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Form 6
Dio Chrysostom . . .	7.5	12	34.5	19	19.5	4.5	3
Clement of Rome . . .	2.35+	8.37+	40.05+	24.86+	20.15+	2.61+	1.57+
Aelius Aristides . . .	1	15.5	37	21	21	3.5	1
Clement of Alexan. . .	2.5	7	35	29.5	21.5	3.5	1
Porphyry	4	8	38	33	10.5	4.5	2
Libanius	3.1 +	19.1 +	41.4 +	17.5 +	12.7 +	4.7 +	1.0 +
Himerius	1.8 +	16.2 +	72.9 +	4.0 +	4.0 +	.9 +	.4 +
Themistius87+	3.31+	35.79+	12.08+	40.90+	3.90+	2.68+
Julian	3.3 +	19	38.6 +	21.8 +	14.6 +	2	1
Basilus Magnus . . .	1.3 +	7.8 +	43.8 +	6.8 +	37.1 +	2.1 +	1.8 +
Gregory of Nazianz. . .	3	10	40	3.5	40.5	1	2
John Chrysostom . . .	2.8	15.4	38.2	15.2	22.2	5.2	1
Synesius	2.04+	5.60+	58.80+	4.62+	25.56+	0	3.84+

number of syllables which follow the last accent are details which may be disregarded in making tests which are intended to do nothing more than show that the accentual rhythm is or is not present. The different Forms may be illustrated as follows:

- Form ο φυσικοῖς δόγμασιν
- " 1 εἰς ἥθος τείνει
 - " 2 εἰδαιμονος βίον regular
 - " 3 ῥήτορος ἀνδρός
 - " 4 Διῶν ὁ Πρωταρεῖς regular
 - " 5 μηδὲν προσπεριεργαζόμενοι
 - " 6 κίνδυνος καταφρονηθῆναι regular (?)

¹ Nothing more is claimed for these figures than was claimed in the case of the Latin writers; the tests have been of the same sort, and serve the same purpose.

It is clear that in the clausulae of all the writers who are earlier than Himerius there is no approximation to the accentual scheme; no preference is shown for the set of regular accentual Forms. Only two deserve to be noted especially; these are the two sophists, Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides. It is a striking fact that in both of these Form 4 is found to occur as often as Form 3, and in the former it actually outnumbers Form 3 by a very small margin. But the total of all regular Forms together is so low that this relation between Forms 3 and 4 must be regarded as accidental, and the effect of the accentual rhythm cannot be said to be even faintly produced.

In the sophist Himerius (c. 315—386) is found the first observance of an accentual law; he makes perfectly clear a preference for Form 2, as is shown by the fact that about 73% of all his clausulae fall into this class. His treatment of Form 4 seems to show that he did not regard this as a desirable Form, but counted it among those which were avoided. Form 3 is likewise avoided. Form 1 occurs rather frequently (16.2+%) but it is plainly avoided in comparison with Form 2. There is no doubt that there is in Himerius an accentual law which had been observed by none of his predecessors.¹ That law consists in practically limiting the regular or preferred accentual Forms to one particular Form, namely Form 2. This narrow limitation to one accentual Form fits perfectly what we know of the later use of the rhythm in Greek: there were two distinct tendencies: one class of writers interpreted the law in the broader sense in which the Latin writers understood it, using either Form 2 or 4 (or 6), while others sought the cadence of Form 2 without variation.² A conspicuous example of the latter class was Soiphronius (VII cent.), while others are not lacking. It seems

¹ Meyer allowed himself to be strangely deceived in regard to Himerius. After quoting a number of irregular clausulae (Form 0 and 1), he says: "Demnach hat Himerius wenigstens mit meiner Regel von dem accentuirten Satzschlusse durchaus nichts zu tun" (Ges. Abh. II, p. 215). His method of testing by gathering all the irregular clausulae from a limited space is entirely misleading; the statistics of *all* Forms as given above show a condition which he apparently never suspected. In the same way he was misled in the case of Porphyry: "Dagegen fand ich schon bei Porphyrius solche falsche Schlüsse auffallend wenige" (ib.). The complete statistics show that Meyer's Law was absolutely unknown to Porphyry.

² This narrower interpretation of the law seems not to have found favor with any Latin writer.

certain that this stricter interpretation of the law begins with Himerius.

At nearly the same time that Himerius was using the accentual rhythm, the sophist Themistius was also observing an accentual law in his clausulae. But the statistics show that his understanding of the law was the broader one which gave preference to Forms 4 as well as to Form 2. (It would seem that Form 6 is not accepted by him as a regular Form.) The range which is given to Form 4 is remarkable; in no other writer, as far as I know, is this Form used actually more than Form 2.¹

In these two writers, then, we have the first observance of an accentual law which had not before been hinted at; there were not two laws, but two interpretations of the same law.² The cause of the difference we can only guess at; perhaps one of the sophists thought to improve on the style set by his rival, and in so doing carried the matter to the extreme shown above. We must hesitate to admit that such a striking difference was due to accident only, for the style of each must have been well known to the other. It may well be that the difference in their schooling had much to do with the matter.

Before passing to the question where Himerius and Themistius found the accentual rhythm, we may pause a moment to notice an interesting chain of influence by which the trick of this rhythm was passed on from teacher to pupil. Among the great number of those who were attracted to the school of Himerius in Athens were two young men who later became leaders in the Christian Church, Basilius Magnus and Gregory of Nazianzus. Now these very men are the first Christian writers in whom there appears an observance of the accentual rhythm; Gregory of Nyssa, who was the brother of Basil, also used the rhythm. It is further known that Gregory of Nazianzus was an admirer of Themistius. There can be no doubt that the use of the accentual rhythm in these three writers is to be explained as due to the influence of Himerius and perhaps Themistius.³ It is true that the law which they follow is the broader form of the law rather

¹ There is a suggestion of the same fondness for Form 4 in some of the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus; e. g., *Orat. VI*.

² The introduction of the accentual rhythm into Greek is dated too late by Meyer—about 400 A. D.—v. *Ges. Abh. II*, pp. 269, 270.

³ The influence of Themistius seems especially plain in Gregory of Nazianzus, whose clausulae show an unusually high percentage of Form 4.

than that form which Himerius adopted for his own use, but it still seems certain that this adoption of a style new in Christian writings was due to the influence of the teaching of their earlier years.

This hypothesis receives some support from the contrast which appears between the style of these three writers and that of two who are known to have been strongly influenced by Libanius. In the works of Libanius himself there is no observance of the accentual law, and in his famous school of oratory in Antioch the rhythm which his two contemporaries had adopted must have been completely disregarded. Now it is known that the Emperor Julian was under the influence of this teacher in his younger years ; Libanius became acquainted with the young Prince during the time when he was teaching in Nicomedia, and after Julian had ascended the throne continued to enjoy the favor of the Emperor until his early death in 363. It is therefore the most natural thing in the world that the writings of Julian show no use of the accentual rhythm. The case is not quite so clear for John Chrysostom, who attended the school in Antioch, and won great favor with the master, though he later sorely disappointed him by turning Christian. The accentual rhythm was plainly known to Chrysostom, but it was used by him in such a half-hearted way that he must have regarded it as incidental. Certain it is, he had not learned it from Libanius. He may have caught the trick from the contemporary Christian writers, but his comparative disregard for that particular stylistic device was evidently due to his early training in the school at Antioch.

We have now seen that the accentual rhythm makes its first appearance in the writings of two teachers of oratory and rhetoric. There may be something significant in this very fact ; it is to be expected that innovations in style should be introduced by just these men. The new rhythm was something which appealed to the popular ear, and it was doubtless adopted for this very reason. It is also clear that no sign of this rhythm is to be found in writers before the middle of the fourth century ; there is nothing even approximating a gradual development. Where, then, was the suggestion found which led Himerius and Themistius to use these particular accentual Forms in clausulae ? It has already been shown that the explanation given above for the rise of the rhythm in Latin writers cannot be applied to Greek

writers. It is also clear that Prof. Hendrickson's theory is not in keeping with the facts.

Only one piece of evidence is now needed in order to set everything in a clear light. If there was a transition from the Greek quantitative rhythm to the accentual rhythm, there must have been traces of a quantitative scheme in the clausulae of those writers who are first found using the new rhythm. That is, we may look for exactly the same condition as that found in Ammianus—an accentual rhythm which pays some regard to quantity. This stage would be later in time than the intermediate stage which Professor Hendrickson believes he has found, and is just as necessary a stage. The writers in whom we may look for this lingering observance of quantity are, of course, Himerius and Themistius; to these may be added Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, who wrote at the end of the fourth century.

It is necessary that the commonest Form of accentual clausula (Form 2) should show the remains of the earlier quantitative scheme if they are present. Only the two stressed syllables and the two syllables between the stresses need be regarded, and it must be shown that there is a plain tendency to make long both the stressed syllables, and above all the second of the unstressed syllables. There must be a suggestion of the sequence — ~ — — (˘), and this suggestion should appear in the relative quantities of the two unstressed syllables at least; for it is clear that quantity must have been observed in unstressed syllables longer than in stressed syllables where the presence of the accent would excuse the neglect of quantity. In the same way those accentual clausulae which have four unstressed syllables between the two stresses should give a suggestion of the quantitative clausula — ~ — — ~ — (˘). But it is plain, as is shown by the following statistics, that none of these writers pay any regard to syllabic quantities in their clausulae; the arrangement of longs and shorts is guided by no rule and there is not the slightest suggestion of the cretic base of the quantitative rhythm.

In the following tables the different syllables of clausulae are designated according to the position in which they stand; in clausulae of Form 2 the syllable which bears the leading stress is called Thesis 1; this is followed by two unstressed syllables, which are called Arsis 1 and Arsis 2 respectively; these in turn are followed by the last accented syllable which is called Thesis 2; the syllables (if there be any) which follow Thesis 2 are called

Arsis 3 and **Arsis 4**—these are not considered in the tests for quantity. A similar nomenclature is applied to clausulae of Form 4.

Themistius.

Orat. XIX (ed. Petavius), all cases of Form 2 before heavy punctuation (counting a vowel before the combination mute plus liquid as always long, and long final vowels or diphthongs in weak hiatus as short; eliding according to the demands of the accentual rhythm).

Thesis 1	long	41 (56.9 + %);	short	31
Arsis 1	"	44 (61.1 + %);	"	28
Arsis 2	"	41 (56.9 + %);	"	31
Thesis 2	"	43 (59.7 + %);	"	29

All the syllables have a slight tendency to be long; there is no trace of any quantitative rhythm.

Orat. IX (ed. Petavius), all cases of Form 4 before heavy punctuation, counting as before.

Thesis 1	long	45 (56.2 + %);	short	35
Arsis 1	"	57 (71.2 + %);	"	23
Arsis 2	"	30 (37.5 + %);	"	50
Arsis 3	"	27 (33.7 + %);	"	53
Arsis 4	"	39 (48.7 + %);	"	41
Thesis 2	"	52 (65%);	"	28

The quantitative sequence suggested by these eighty clausulae is — — — — — ; from this comes no hint of the quantitative rhythm. The sequence which should be found if traces of the quantitative scheme are being sought is — — — — — (—).

Himerius.

Orat. VIII, XIII and XXIII (ed. Wernsdorf) all cases of Form 2 before heavy punctuation, counting as in Themistius.

	Orat. VIII		Orat. XIII		Orat. XXII		Average long
	long	short	long	short	long	short	
Thesis 1	23	13	20	11	16	16	59.5 + %
Arsis 1	26	10	18	13	28	4	72.7 + %
Arsis 2	23	13	11	20	20	12	54.5 + %
Thesis 2	24	12	24	7	20	12	68.6 + %

There is surely no suggestion of the sequence — — — — (—); the syllable which seems to show a tendency to be long is the very one which would be expected to be short (Arsis 1).

Synesius.

In three different parts of the Dion (Migne: Patrologia Graeca 66) 100 consecutive clausulae of Form 2 were counted (*omitting* all cases involving hiatus, and all those in which there is a vowel followed by a mute and liquid).

	A		B		C		Average
	long	short	long	short	long	short	long
Thesis 1	47	53	57	43	61	39	55%
Arsis 1	64	36	61	39	61	39	62%
Arsis 2	56	44	55	45	63	37	58%
Thesis 2	53	47	64	36	70	30	62.3 +%

The result is strikingly similar to that obtained from Themistius; there is certainly not the faintest residuum of the quantitative rhythm.

In order to make sure that this method of testing for quantities in the accentual clausulae of Greek writers has been a fair one, a test of exactly the same sort was made in three Latin writers. A number of clausulae which are read accentually as Form 2 and an equal number of Form 4 were examined to see what relation syllabic quantities hold to the accentual Forms. The result shows, as would be expected, a very close correspondence between the two schemes.

Form 2	Arnobius		Symmachus		Firmicus	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
Thesis 1	29	1	28	2	30	0
Arsis 1	4	26	3	27	8	22
Arsis 2	28	2	27	3	26	4
Thesis 2	29	1	22	8	23	7

The quantitative Form suggested is the commonest of the regular Forms: — ~ — — (~).

Form 4	Arnobius		Symmachus	
	long	short	long	short
Thesis 1	22	8	22	8
Arsis 1	0	30	0	30
Arsis 2	22	8	23	7
Arsis 3	26	4	23	7
Arsis 4	5	25	7	23
Thesis 2	29	1	29	1

The quantitative Form here suggested is one of very frequent occurrence in the quantitative rhythm: — ~ — — ~ — (~).

These tests make it perfectly plain that in those Greek writers who first use accentual clausulae, there is no quantitative law

observed in connection with the accentual Forms. In contrast with this it is plain that in the Latin writers in whom the regular accentual Forms are first found to predominate, the accentual scheme is closely involved with the traditional quantitative rhythm.

It has now been shown that the accentual rhythm makes its first appearance in Greek about the middle of the fourth century in the writings of the Sophists Himerius and Themistius; that in Greek writers before that time there is no trace of the accentual scheme, and that neither in Himerius nor Themistius nor Synesius is there any trace of a quantitative law. On the other hand the accentual scheme makes its first appearance in Latin at the end of the third century, and for at least a century was closely involved in the quantitative rhythm. Add to this that the accentual law was practically the same in the two languages, and only one conclusion is possible: the Greek writers took over the accentual scheme from the Latin, disregarding the quantitative law of the Latin clausulae which they may or may not have observed in their model. It is true that both Himerius and Themistius gave an individual turn to the rhythm, the one by elevating the importance of Form 2 and the other by showing a preference for Form 4; but not only the idea of marking the cadence of clausulae by word accent, but also the suggestion of the accentual Forms to which preference should be given was derived from the practise of the Latin writers Cyprian or Arnobius or the unknown author of the Panegyric to Constantius (No. 5), or some other Latin writer who constructed his clausulae as these writers did.

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V.—RIG VEDA I. 32. 8.

An interesting verse in the Vedas, which has apparently presented certain difficulties and several varying interpretations in the past, is Rig Veda I. 32. 8, the first two *pādas* of which read :

*nadāṁ ná bhinnām amuyā ḡāyānam
máno rúhāṇā áti yanṭy ápah.*

As to the first of these two *pādas*, the translation of Professor Pischel (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 717–724) seems to be the most acceptable and is adopted by Lanman in the Notes to his Sanskrit Reader, p. 361. In the second *pāda*, however, Pischel, in order to substantiate his rendering has been obliged to change the reading of the text. To begin, the difficulty lies only with the first two words of the *pāda*—“*máno rúhāṇā*”. Benfey (in “Orient und Occident”, I, p. 47, Anm. 265) assumed an adverbial use of *mánas* (reading “*manas*” for “*mano*”, by the regular laws of *sam̄dhi*), as similar to *añjas* and rendered “*lustig steigend*” (lustily rising), and in this interpretation was followed by Grassmann, Delbrück (*Altindische Tempuslehre*, p. 108) and Lanman (*Noun-Inflection*, p. 562). Pischel, on the other hand, rejects this reading as well as those of Roth in the St. Petersburg Lexicon (“*ihren Willen erreichend*”), and Ludwig (“*ein Herz sich fassend*”), and assumes that the text is here corrupted. He supposes that the original text read: “*manoruhāna ati*”, which was to be separated “*mánor uḥāṇā ati*”. The Padakāra, on dividing this, read: “*máno rúhāṇā ati*”, and in consequence, made the change of *n* to *ṇ*. Following up this reasoning, he adduces certain other Vedic passages, to show that the genitive “*mánor*” (from “*manu*”) belongs to “*āpah*”, and the two words, taken together, signify the same as “*mānuṣir āpas*” in Rig Veda IX. 63. 7. In conclusion, he renders the entire half-verse: “Ueber ihn der so dalag, zermalmt wie ein Schilfrohr, gehen hinweg die Gewässer zu den Menschen fliessend.”

Following Pischel, first, in his interpretation of *pāda a*, and secondly, in his reading of "manor" instead of "manas", for "mano", I cannot, however, understand the necessity of assuming the corruptness of the text and the consequent change of cerebral *ŋ* to dental *n*. Either root, *vrūh* or *vuh* might be used in connection with the waters, and assuming that the Padapātha reading is correct, by a law of *samdhī* (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 179), the consonant *r* can never be doubled, but where two *r*'s occur together, the first is dropped and the preceding syllable, if short, is lengthened. It seems, therefore, a possibility that the reading was originally: "mānor *rihāñā*"; and these two *r*'s falling together, that of "mānor" was dropped, and since the vowel *o*, is already long, being a diphthong, it remained as it was. This assumption would obviate the difficulty of reading "manas" for "mano", yet at the same time, would not necessitate a change in the reading of the text. Following this reading and assuming "manor *āpah*" as equivalent to "mānuṣir *āpah*" the translation would run: "Over him, lying so, crushed like a reed, the waters go, rising for man (lit., the waters of man, go").

ELLWOOD AUSTIN WELDEN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

- A Handbook of Greek Archaeology by HAROLD NORTH FOWLER and JAMES RIGNALL WHEELER with the collaboration of G. P. STEVENS. New York: American Book Co., 1909. Pp. 559.

In the narrow compass of this manual belonging to the series edited for colleges and schools by Professor Smyth an excellent brief sketch has been given of the most important departments of the extensive field of Greek Archaeology. The only entire category of art omitted is ivory, but in view of the valuable ivories found at Ephesus and Sparta and considering the fact that the pieces of ivory in the Hermitage exhibit perhaps the best example of Greek drawing we have from the fifth century B. C., this is a serious omission. The essential facts are presented in each chapter mainly in chronological order with reference to the historical development of art from its archaic stages. The second chapter on architecture by Stevens and the eighth on vases by Wheeler, who has filled a long-felt want by giving us a concise and accurate account of this art in 114 pages, will prove especially useful to the beginning student of Greek Art. They are the best and most systematic concentrated account of these subjects in English.

An introductory chapter deals with the study and progress of archaeology in modern times. This is followed by a discussion of Prehellenic Greece which is unsatisfactory because it has not taken advantage of Bulle's *Orchomenus*, of Tsountas' epoch-making work *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, of Soteriades' important prehistoric discoveries near Elatea and Chaeronea (cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1908, p. 63 f.) or of the valuable pre-Mycenaean finds which the English have made in Thessaly at Zerelia (cf. B. S. A. XIV, p. 197 f.), Tzani, and Lianokladi (cf. Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1908, p. 120 f.) and are still making in northern Greece. At Zerelia eight successive neolithic strata were unearthed so that perhaps the stone age in Thessaly was not so very much shorter than in northern and western Europe (cf. p. 39). The description of the finds at Mycenae based on Schuchhardt is good but that of Crete is very meagre and disappointing. In view of the great role which was played in Cretan civilization by the bull-fight, which may also explain the Vaphio cups and the story of the Minotaur by whom the Athenian youths and maidens were butchered to

make a Cretan holiday, it is surprising that not even the fresco from Tiryns is mentioned or illustrated. This is not only of interest because probably a woman and not a man is performing acrobatic feats over the bull's back as in a similar relief in Crete but it has great artistic merit for the history of Greek painting. P. 73, it is hardly correct to say that the bull's head of silver was made expressly for the grave and could hardly have served any practical purpose. It was undoubtedly a ritual rhyton, as the hole in the mouth shows, like the clay bull's head from Gournia (cf. Hawes, Gournia, pp. 52, 55; pl. I) and the wonderful bull's head in black steatite found in the Little Palace at Cnossus; and perhaps even the gold lion's head was likewise a rhyton as has been suggested by Karo. P. 83, we read that the lion in Mycenaean art seems to indicate a real acquaintance with northern Africa. Why Africa, when the lion was not yet extinct in Greece (cf. Meyer, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1903)? One defect which runs through the whole book is frequent reference to something not described in the work itself, which tends to confuse the beginner for whom an elementary book of this kind must be meant. So to take only one example, p. 80, by the steatite vase from Hagia Triada is meant the steatite rhyton with scenes from the bull-fight but the only steatite vase from Hagia Triada described is the Harvesters Vase (p. 68). The opposite fault of not giving enough detail or not telling the whole truth is also misleading. Let one example out of many suffice. P. 237, we read that "a well-known bust of Pericles in the British Museum is regarded as a copy of an original by Cresilas" as if there were not other such well-known busts of Pericles in other museums. Two confusing misprints occur in this chapter, p. 59 *prodromos* for *prodromos* and p. 76 grave V for grave IV.

The second chapter, on architecture, is by Mr. Stevens who was fellow in architecture for two years in Athens and who brilliantly demonstrated that the east wall of the Erechtheum had two windows, though Bötticher to whom Stevens gives no credit also had the idea but without proof (cf. Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*, pl. 41). Many of the drawings in this chapter are by Stevens himself and we regret that with his other drawings of the Erechtheum he has not included his restoration of the eastern wall (cf. A.J.A. X, 1906, p. 67, pls. VIII-IX). In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. Stevens has changed his plan of the Erechtheum published in the A.J.A., l. c., pl. VI, by dividing the middle room into two rooms by means of a cross-wall, probably the *παραστάς* mentioned in the Erechtheum inscriptions. When the drawings are so excellent and up to date it is a little startling to find an antiquated photograph of the Erechtheum on p. 131 which shows neither the replaced south nor west wall in its present condition. We miss also photographs of the theatre at Epidaurus, the Propylaea, the Olympieum, the Temple of Wingless Victory (these last two not even mentioned) and many

other important monuments of Greek architecture. P. 102, *μίλτος* came not merely from Sinope but from several other places such as Lemnos and Ceos. It was called *Σινωπίς* because it was first discovered on the Pontus and exported from Sinope (cf. Pliny, N. H. XXXV 31 and A. J. P. XXVII, p. 141 f.) P. 107, the Z form of cramp is used in buildings even later than the early part of the fifth century, since it occurs along with the double T cramp in the temple at Bassae which dates probably in the last quarter of the fifth century. The type of cramp pictured in fig. 72 is not confined to Lesbos but has been found at Mycenae, Khorsabad, Ephesus, in blocks belonging to the Cnidian treasury at Delphi, and elsewhere (cf. Koldewey, Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos, p. 46; Hogarth, Excavations at Ephesus, Atlas, pl. X). P. 111, the "Theseum" is mentioned as an example of a temple with two steps but it has three, the lowest being of limestone. A better example would have been the Heraeum at Olympia or the temple at Assos which really have only two steps. The Heraeum at Olympia is said (p. 110) to date not later than the seventh century B. C. and to be perhaps the oldest temple in all Greece. But the earliest Artemisium at Sparta is dated at least as early as the ninth century and the Argive Heraeum much earlier; and in fact Dörpfeld dates the Heraeum at Olympia with Pausanias in the eleventh century. P. 156, the earlier Propylaea are labelled Cimonian instead of Peisistratean. P. 159, there were more than two earlier buildings on the site of the Telesterion at Eleusis and it is a mistake to give the idea that the Greek hall had forty-two columns and to reproduce only the Roman plan. P. 160, the Bouleuterion at Priene was hardly similar to that at Miletus, since it was square and not semi-circular. P. 183, the description of an elliptical altar of Zeus at Olympia must be revised in view of Dörpfeld's discovery at Olympia of elliptical prehistoric houses. In fact it would have been well in the chapter on prehellenic Greece to discuss the elliptical and round houses and those with an apse-like end found at Orchomenus, in Crete and elsewhere. This reminds me that one important type of Greek building is omitted entirely by Stevens, namely that with an apse such as we have at Delphi, Ptoon, Thespiae, Gla, at the Kabirion near Thebes, in Ozolian Locris, on the Athenian acropolis, at Thermon, Corinth, Heraclea near Mt. Latmos, Samothrace and Delos south of the Artemisium. To be sure the Bouleuterion at Olympia is described, p. 158, but nowhere are we given to understand that the Greeks were familiar with the apse and ellipse from the earliest times.

The third chapter, on sculpture, is altogether too brief and elementary and omits much which even the beginner should learn but a great deal has been condensed, though in a colorless style, into one hundred pages. The chapter is marred by some misprints and errors, p. 230 roman for Roman, p. 277 and in index Chaerostratus for Chaerestratous, p. 287 and in index

Athenadorus for Athenodorus. P. 207, the grave-stele of Aristion, excavated at Velanideza, is said to have been found at Marathon. P. 238, there are two fragments or rather two heads and not merely one in Copenhagen from a Parthenon metope.

One great merit of this handbook is its excellent series of 412 carefully selected illustrations. A special feature of the chapters on Terra-cottas, Metal Work (Bronzes, Silverware, Jewelry) and Vases is the fact that a large majority of the illustrations are taken from objects in Boston or New York, which will make the book useful not only to American students who have access to the museums there but will attract the attention of foreign scholars to our own Greek treasures.

The fifth chapter, on Metal Work, is very sketchy. In the discussion of Greek silver work are included none of the beautiful and artistic Greek silver vases from the fourth century B. C. in the Hermitage, and much of the ware from Hildesheim and Boscoreale which is discussed is Roman or late Greek. P. 345, we read that in the case of necklaces "woven and twisted ropes or bands of fine threads do not occur until the fifth century". But such are already known in Mycenaean times. P. 350, many scholars such as Loeschcke, Hauser, Furtwängler and others are equally certain that the gold medallions from Kertch representing the head of Athena Parthenos are Ionic Work and not made at Athens.

The sixth chapter, on coins, is a good introduction to the subject but the student should not be told (p. 371) that Demarete was presented by the Carthaginians with a thousand talents of gold. The words of Diodorus XI, 26 are στεφανωθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσίου νόμισμα ἔξεκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον.

The seventh chapter, on gems, is nothing but a short summary in thirty pages of part of Furtwängler's Antike Gemmen from which all the illustrations of gems are taken. The beautiful Augustan cameo in Vienna is called three times (pp. 408, 409 and index) the Gemma Augusta, which is not absolutely wrong; but since quotation marks are used, we should keep the usual spelling Augustea.

The eighth chapter on vases, followed by an altogether too scanty consideration of Greek painting and mosaics in less than fifteen pages, is the best and therefore no strictures should be made on it. P. 447, the scyphus fig. 364 is proto-Corinthian and not Corinthian, so read fig. 365.

A selected bibliography and index complete this work which can be heartily recommended as the best, most authoritative and practical introduction in English to Greek Archaeology, putting on the shelf Murray's Handbook and Wright's translation of Collignon. The authors have done all that was possible in the limited space of 559 pages with such an immense field every subject in which should have a volume to itself.

A Literary History of the English People. Vols. II and III.
Parts I and II: From the Renaissance to the Civil War.
By J. J. JUSSERAND. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and
London, 1906, 1909.

Volume I of the above-named work (1895) was noticed in this Journal, XVIII 3, for October, 1897. It was then intended to complete the work in three volumes, Part II, "From the Renaissance to Pope", and Part III, "From Pope to the Present Day". But the work has evidently grown on the author's hands, and it will take at least two more volumes to complete it. However, the public will be the gainer, for we should not like to spare any portion of what has been written; only we hope that a shorter time may elapse between the third and fourth volumes than has elapsed between the first and second, and the second and third.

M. Jusserand has done well to write the work in English, that it may be an original work and not a translation, even if occasional expressions show that he is not "to the manner born". It is well that English people may see themselves through foreign spectacles, especially when they are worn by one who is so familiar with French literature as the American ambassador, and who can therefore trace better than a native Englishman the influence of French upon English literature.

Volume I closed with the taking of Constantinople (1453), and has a separate Index; volumes II and III close with the Civil War (1642), and have a joint Index, being separated by the chapter on the Novel, to which *genre* the author has already given a volume, written in French, but translated into English. Volume III treats chiefly the dramatic literature, especially of the age of Elizabeth, with the predecessors and successors of Shakespeare to the closing of the theatres, when English dramatic literature suffered an eclipse. The volumes are divided into Books, and these into Chapters, which are still further subdivided into Sections, an analytical method that serves the convenience of the reader. Numerous bibliographical notes fill the lower portions of the pages, but it may be a question whether it is not better to assemble them after the respective chapters, as they interrupt the narrative and criticism.

Volume II comprises two books, on the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and on the Age of Elizabeth, the first of which treats, besides the Renaissance in Europe and in England, the rise of printing, humanism in England, including English prose and poetry, on the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and the poets of the Revival especially Wyatt and Surrey and their contemporaries. Under the Reformation we find Henry VIII, Cranmer and Cromwell treated, More and Tyndale, and the English Bible, Mary's persecutions, and, as a consequence, the restoration of Protestantism. This

was confirmed by Elizabeth, and it became a time of great maritime and commercial expansion, of travel, and of development in many ways, especially of patriotism. The literary development in this age was notable, both in prose and poetry, history and criticism, original works and translations. We find lyrics and love-poetry, ballads and religious poetry, poems satirical and comical, with a lengthy consideration of Spenser and the "Faerie Queene", the volume closing with the chapter on the Novel; and a treatment of Llyl, Sidney, Nash, Greene, Chettle, Middleton, and Dekker.

Volume III opens with the predecessors of Shakespeare, with respect to whom Symonds's work is the standard authority in English, but M. Jusserand takes exception to Mr. Symonds's statement that "The chronicle play is peculiar to English literature" (p. 133, note), and adduces instances from French literature, but he adds: "The truth is that, thanks to Marlowe and Shakespeare, England alone produced at that period works deserving a permanent rank in literature". This Book deals with theatres and theatrical performances under Elizabeth, and, after a consideration of the immediate predecessors of Shakespeare, it treats at some length the personal and literary biography of Shakespeare, his dramatic work, his contemporaries and successors, and closes with the aftermath in other kinds of literature. Here are included the poets, travellers, moralists, and observers, the archaeologists and historians, notably Bacon and the religious writers who preceded the storm, not omitting the learned pedant, with his theory of divine right, and his no less learned, but more obstinate, son.

Where we have so much that is well done, it may seem hypercritical to take exception, but the few exceptions are taken in no censorious spirit. Jefferson founded the University of Virginia near the banks of the Rivanna, not "Fluvana", but the adjoining county to Albemarle, in which the University is located, is "Fluvanna" (II, 17, *ad fin.*). The author has not as high an opinion of Dunbar as some other critics have, especially his German editor Koch, of whom we find no mention, even in the bibliographical notes, but Gallic and Gaelic, however, differ. If Dunbar is not a humorous poet, we have none in Scotch literature. He is no unworthy leader of the mighty line that seems to have ended with Burns. Douglas and Lyndsay continue the Scotch tradition, contemporary with the English Hawes and Skelton, which last, even if Erasmus did call him "*unum Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus*", does not, *me judice*, approach Dunbar. Sir Thomas Elyot, whose "Gouverour" set the standard of education for the time, gives the precepts which the noted poets, Wyatt and Surrey, illustrated in their lives and writings.

It is well to remind us that the French possessed a translation of the New Testament, that of Lefèvre d'Étaples, in 1523, two

years before Tyndale, and of the whole Bible in 1530. Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522, and his German Bible in 1534. The author thinks, and apparently rightly, that Henry VIII would never have left the ancient Church, "if his personal interest had not been at stake". After Wolsey and More come Cranmer and Cromwell. It is sad to think that the Reformation of the Church must be accomplished by such instruments. "But", says M. Jusserand, "this was an age of baseness, of weakened characters, in which the Protestant Archbishop Cranmer sent Protestants to the stake, and the Catholic Bishop Gardiner wrote against the Pope". Henry died on January 28, 1547, and it is a matter of speculation what would have been the fate of the Reformation if he had lived longer. Somerset, however, helped it on, but the death of Edward VI soon followed. "The cause of the Reformation, which seemed lost at the accession of Mary, was won by the martyrs", but would it have been won but for Elizabeth?

We have an attractive description of Elizabeth, and on the whole a just one. It was necessary that she should steer in the true *via media*, and her strong common sense guided her in this path. This was particularly true in respect to religious matters, and if she had acted differently, in all probability we should have had an English "Thirty Years' War". The maritime glory of England receives due recognition, as does the progress of the Kingdom in many ways.

The numerous works of the reign in both prose and poetry are commented on, with pertinent bibliographical notes, and a brief sketch of the classical and anti-classical verse controversy, "Tityrus, /happilie/thou lyste/tumbling/under a/beech-tree", for which, and similar, Jonson dubbed Fraunce "a fool". It is well that Harvey's "hexameter meditations" did not prevail in English verse. Ascham favors "the Greeks in true versifying", but Gascoigne, Puttenham, Daniel and Chapman, are champions of rime,—with Sainte Beuve. Besides original treatises, as of Sidney and Webbe, translations abound, as Phaer and Stanyhurst of Vergil, Goldin of Ovid, and many others.

M. Jusserand notes "the richness, the variety, the incredible literary fecundity of this country", quite a contrast to the time when Tottel could gather for his "Miscellany" but "a nosegay that could be held in one hand". Soon followed many "Miscellanies", and such-like, similar to Tottel's. Poetical imitators too abound, as Watson with his "Hecatompethia", and other sonnets to ideal and real loves, of which writers Raleigh and Sidney "bear the bell". "Aglaia, Delia, Diella, Diana, Laura, Idea, Coelia, Corinna, Fides, Aurora, Coelica, and multitudes of other divinities, real or imaginary", find worshippers.

Campion has been but recently rehabilitated by Mr. Bullen, who has done so much for our knowledge of Elizabethan literature. Ballads and verse romances increase the stock, and at last comes Donne, with his satires and other verses before he

turned preacher at the instigation of King James. This Book closes with a chapter on Spenser, and a final one on The Novel,—referred to above,—with criticism of Lyly's "Euphues", Greene's "Pandosto" and "Menaphon", Lodge's "Rosalynde", Sidney's "Arcadia", and Nash's tales of rogues and cheats.

Volume III is almost entirely taken up with the drama, of which it gives an interesting account that may be compared with Professor Schelling's two volumes. M. Jusserand thinks that, in both France and England, "the cleverest critics, the most learned and experienced scholars, the thinkers of greatest fame, . . . with the same energy, but widely different results, declared for classical art". Doubtless the increased knowledge of classical art polished "the lawless romanticism inherited from the Middle Ages", but we have only to compare Shakespeare and Racine to appreciate the difference. Through Kyd, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Nash and Marlowe we reach Shakespeare, who "never went to a university". The author pronounces "Edward II" "the first well-conceived and solidly built tragedy in English literature", and Marlowe's "dramatic masterpiece". A whole chapter is devoted to Shakespeare's biography, and another to his dramatic work, but strange to say (!) the much written of Bacon-Shakespeare controversy is altogether neglected; it is to be hoped that it has at last been buried.

M. Jusserand has unearthed the first French criticism of Shakespeare, that of one Nicolas Clément, librarian to Louis XIV (1675-1684), who says: "This English poet has a somewhat fine imagination, his thoughts are natural, his words ingeniously chosen, but these happy qualities are obscured by the filth he introduces into his comedies". Unfortunately we cannot deny the impeachment, but he was only *un anglais barbare*, so let it pass. This criticism remained in MS until M. Jusserand found and published it in the *Revue Critique* for November 14, 1887. The Grand Monarque had a copy of the second folio, and Fouquet had also a copy of Shakespeare's works, which he kept in his garret, and which the learned experts valued at "1 franc" (!). But another French critic well says (1738): "*C'est au tribunal du bon sens qu'il faut le citer*".

The first French translation appeared in 1745, that of La Place, who "celebrated Shakespeare's genius and . . . defended his liberties and his disdain of rules". This was before Lessing, so the French appreciated Shakespeare before the Germans. But the greatest man of letters of his day was Jonson, not Shakespeare. "When foreigners asked English people who was their great man of letters, they did not answer Shakespeare, but Jonson". Saint Amant visited England in 1631, and never heard of Shakespeare. He was lost to fame fifteen years after his death, and eight after the publication of his collected works. Clément, however, in cataloguing Jonson's works, pronounces him *poeta Anglicus per celebris*, and makes a note (afterwards

erased): "Ce poète anglais est un des meilleurs, des plus retenus, et des plus modestes", which last criticism we may take the liberty of doubting. Jonson, doubtless, suited better the French taste. "Jonson's great concern through life was literary art". His "learned sock" was more highly appreciated by French critics than Shakespeare's "wood-notes wild". M. Jusserand says: "While with the latter [Shakespeare] fantasy, lyrical imagination, independence, alertness, and fiery passion predominated, the other [Jonson] was for reason, observation, truth, accuracy, precedents, deliberation". Jonson was not unappreciative of his own attainments. "He was better versed", he said to Drummond, "and knew more in Greek and Latin than all the poets in England". This was, doubtless, true, but it might have been left to some one else to say it. "Volpone" is rightly called "his masterpiece", but it is a hard play to expurgate; it must be taken as it is, for expurgation is emasculation. "The noble figure of Celia, 'the blazing star of Italy', a rare type in Jonson's theatre, makes the dark group of vultures, foxes, and ravens stand out even darker". But I must pass over the other contemporaries of Shakespeare, and his successors, closing with Shirley, who survived the Restoration, and I must neglect "the aftermath" even though it contains so notable a figure as Bacon. "In the distance the storm was rumbling; soon it was no longer in the distance". The succeeding volume will treat the *dii minores* of this century, and will include the *Jupiter optimus maximus*, who has enriched English literature with that epic which alone deserves to be compared to the works of Homer, Vergil, and Dante.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

The First Grammar of the Language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot, with a Vocabulary and Texts—Mythology, Folklore, Historical Episodes, Songs. By Dr. CARL WILHELM SEIDENADEL. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1909.

The book is a handsomely bound quarto volume of XXIV + 588 pages, dealing with one of the minor languages of Luzon 1, about which, up to this time little or nothing has been written. Dr. Seidenadel has reduced the language to writing, and has given students of Philippine languages a work which will greatly increase their knowledge of the northern group of these languages, the better known members of which are Ibanag, Iloko, and Pangasinan. The author shows himself a careful observer, as well as a scholar having some acquaintance with the principles of linguistic science, and his work is probably, all things considered, the best grammar of a Philippine language that has yet been published.

The book consists of three parts, a grammar, a vocabulary, and a series of texts.

The grammatical part of the work contains a great amount of valuable material, but it might have been arranged in a more effective manner. While the treatment of the phonology stands at the beginning, comprising the first twenty-nine (29) paragraphs, no attempt is made to separate morphology and syntax, the two being treated together in the remaining paragraphs (30-462), and the relation between the various divisions and subdivisions of the subject are not indicated with sufficient clearness.

The phonology is superior to that found in other Philippine grammars, the statements being on the whole clear and scientific, but some points call for comment. In § 2, in which the various sounds of the language are enumerated it would have been better to give examples of the various sounds occurring in native words as initial, medial, and final; the statement that *f* is like the *f* in *fine*; i. e., labio-dental like English *f*, does not agree with the assertion of Prof. C. E. Conant that *f* is a pure labial; i. e., bilabial, in all the Philippine languages (cf. F and V in Philippine Languages, Publications of the Division of Ethnology of the Bureau of Science at Manila, Vol. V (1908), Part II, p. 138f.); the author says *p* is to be pronounced 'as in pin but without following *spiritus asper*'; English *p* is a simple stop and not an aspirate (cf. H. Sweet, A Primer of Phonetics, Oxford, 1890, p. 81, § 219). In §§ 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20 it would have been better to give examples of the phonetic changes mentioned. In § 19 he states that a final mute comes near to being a *spiritus lenis*, but he does not seem to realize that this is the same as the glottal check or glottal catch which he treats in § 25. It is unfortunate that he does not give us a fuller treatment of the accent in § 27, and in § 28 it would have been better to discuss the whole subject of Reduplication rather than to take it up piecemeal in the following pages: § 29 on what he calls Elocution, i. e., the manner of speaking, is not very clearly expressed. One of the most remarkable phonetic facts of the language is that mentioned in § 3, viz., that the same individual often pronounces a word differently at different times without being conscious of the variation; e. g., *fafayi* or *babayi* 'woman', *bilak* or *pilak* 'money', but the author does not make it clear whether this is due to sentence phonetics or not. In at least one case he has failed to note in the phonology a clear case of phonetic change. In § 34, after the completion of the phonology, the statement is made that the article *si* standing between two vowels becomes *s* or *sh*; from the examples given it is clear that it becomes *sh* under the influence of a preceding *i* or *y*, tho this is not stated. This change should have been given a place among the other phonetic changes discussed in §§ 4-22.

In the remaining part of the grammar, comprising morphology and syntax, one of the best features is the large number and

variety of the examples given. The treatment of indefinite pronominal ideas, relative and interrogative pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, emphatic expressions, and the ideas 'to be', 'to become', 'to have', is especially good, while the care that the author exercises in pointing out the uses of the ligatures adds greatly to the value of the work.

The treatment of the most important of the parts of speech, the verb, however, is disappointing. In the first place he introduces a new nomenclature and divides all verbs into two classes, viz., personal and possessive, according to the pronominal particle that follows the verb. Any word followed by a nominative pronominal particle he calls a personal verb, thus including here not only what are usually called active verbs, but also such combinations as *lalaki-ak* 'I am a man', *tolo-kami* 'we are three', *kad-kayu* 'how many are you', etc., in which we have no verb at all, but simply non-verbal predicates followed by pronominal subject. In his discussion of the so-called possessive verbs, which are regularly called passives in other Philippine grammars, he goes out of his way to inveigh against the theory that these forms are passives. He states emphatically that they are not passive but active, since they correspond regularly to the active verbs of other languages (p. 71 ft. nt. f.) Nevertheless he tells us in §§ 205, 208 that the logical subject stands in the genitive case. The author here confuses the grammatical with the logical aspect of the matter. From the standpoint of logic these constructions are certainly active, and there is no important Philippine grammar that does not fully recognize this, but from the standpoint of the grammatical construction they are certainly not active but passive, the grammatical subject being the thing that receives the action, and the person or thing that performs the action standing in the genitive or case of the possessor or agent (cf. my article, *The expression of case by the verb in Tagalog*, JAOS., Vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 183-189). Leaving aside these peculiarities, which will occasion no great difficulty to anyone familiar with the general structure of Philippine languages, the chief defect in the treatment of the verb is that he gives no complete survey of the whole verbal system, but contents himself for the most part with the discussion of the various classes of forms without showing clearly how they are related with one another. Moreover part of the verbal forms are treated in one part of the grammar (§§ 167-177) and the rest in another (§§ 294-303) without any apparent reason.

The following points call for some comment. In § 33 the author analyses the article *si*, as consisting of two elements *s* and *i*; it is more probably a single particle (cf. my article *Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar*, JAOS., Vol. XXVII, 1906, p. 346). In § 39, he misunderstands the construction in such cases as *tja Olóshan ken Langágan* 'Olóshan and Langagan (two people)'; here *ken* is not a conjunction = 'and',

but a preposition or case sign as in the corresponding Tagalog construction *sind Pedro ni Juan* 'Pedro and Juan'. In § 40, he says that the origin of the ligatures is unknown; they are undoubtedly pronominal particles (cf. my article on The Tagalog ligature and analogies in other languages, JAOS., Vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 227-231). The ligature *n* should be separated by a hyphen from the preceding word, as otherwise it is difficult to recognize its presence. In § 123, the comparison of equality is mentioned but no examples of it are given; in § 127 a way of expressing this important idea different from that mentioned in § 123, and not described in the text, is exemplified.

In the vocabulary, pp. 281-475, the chief defect is the difficulty of quickly recognizing the verbal root, as verbal forms are always given with pronominal suffixes. Otherwise it seems to be excellent.

The texts, comprising with notes about 100 pages, besides furnishing us with examples of connected discourse, give us some insight into the religion and the manners and customs of the Igorot.

With regard to the external features of the work, rather a strange impression is made on opening the book to find at the beginning before the title page a series of photographs of the Igorot unaccompanied by any introduction or explanation. The appearance of the printed page is marred by the fact that in Igorot words the accented vowels are usually in somewhat larger type and have a different slant from the other vowels, while the symbol for the vowel having a sound between *u* and *o* (an *u* larger than the other letters with an *o* within it) is exceedingly awkward, as also is the sign for the glottal catch, which is represented by a slanting stroke, viz., *sak/en* 'I'. The author's English is often a little strange, and contains a number of Germanisms. The large size of the book is a great disadvantage, rendering its use in field work in the Philippines very difficult to say the least. It would have been much better to have published it in two volumes, viz., I. Grammar, and II. Vocabulary and Texts, and to have still further decreased the size by the use of a somewhat smaller type.

Of the defects that have been pointed out above, the most serious are the unsatisfactory treatment of the verb, and the unwieldy size of the book itself, but even these defects are not vital in character. Upon the whole, Dr. Seidenadel's book is an admirable piece of work, and will form a most welcome addition to the material available for the study of the Philippine languages.

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Modern Greek-English Dictionary with a Cypriote Vocabulary. By A. KYRIAKIDES. Athens, Anesti Constantinides. London, William & Nugate, 1909. 15s.

English-speaking people learning Modern Greek and Greeks learning English will find a valuable aid in Kyriakides' Modern Greek Dictionary. The vocabulary is full; the shades of meaning finely drawn, the translation generally accurate. The sprinkling of the technical terms of the Arts and Sciences will be found useful and the introduction of characteristic proverbs interesting. There is, however, a tendency to purism; e. g., *γελοιοποίησις*, *εὐκτάιος*, *εὐσύνοπτος*, *έρυσιβώδης*, *καθ' ὅσον* *ἔφικτόν*, *ἐπιτεγδευμένον* *ὑφός*, *νωδός*, etc., etc., are words and terms hardly ever used and barely understood by the ordinary Greek, and the translation of the Greek phrases into English might be simplified for the Greek student, e. g., *τὸ φαρμάκι τοῦ ἔφαγε τὰ σωτικά*, 'the poison corroded his entrails'; *τὸ σχοινὶ ἔφαγώθη*, 'the rope is frayed'; *ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ τραγουδιοῦ*, 'the burden of his song'; *μὴ γελείσαι*, 'do not delude yourself'; *αὐτὸ δὲν μοῦ γεμίζει τὸ μάτι*, 'this is not a great matter'; *ὁ στόμαχος ἐπεξεργάζεται τὰς τροφάς*, 'the stomach elaborates food'; *ἡ φυσικὴ κατάστασις ἐπιδρᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑφούς*, 'the physique of a man exerts an influence over his moral faculties', etc., etc., could be rendered by English forms more readily understood.

Such ancient proverbs as: *ὅψε θεῶν ἀλέονται μύλοι, ἀλέονται δὲ λεπτά*, "Αλλα μὲν θουλαὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα δὲ θεῖς κελεύει, would find a more fitting place in the Paroemiographi Graeci. Their modern equivalents would be more characteristic of the modern spirit and atmosphere: e. g., *ὁ θεῖς ἀργεῖ μὰ δὲν ἀλησμονεῖ*; "Αλλα σκαμπάζ" *ὁ γαϊδαρος καὶ ἄλλα ὁ γαϊδουρολάτης*. When we consider that this dictionary is destined by the author primarily for the use of Greeks sojourning among English-speaking people, and secondly, for the English, who are learning Greek; that ninety-five per cent. of the former have but a very limited knowledge of English, and that only of the most popular form, and that very few of the latter have any grammatical knowledge of Modern Greek, a Modern Greek Dictionary could not be made too simple for either. A closer adherence to the spoken idiom, a systematic rendering of the principal tenses with illustrations, the translation of the indicative by the indicative: e. g., *Βγάζω τὴν μύξαν μον*, 'I blow my nose', not 'to blow one's nose', would have enhanced the value of Kyriakides' work. Dealing, however, with such an elusive subject as Modern Greek—elusive in matter and form—is a Herculean labor and when the last word is said the fact remains that Kyriakides' Modern Greek Dictionary is a valuable book and, to use his own words, a serviceable *vade mecum*.

ARISTOGEITON M. SOHO.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. XIV.

Pp. 1-24. J. Wackernagel, Zu den lateinischen Ethnika. I. A general sketch, confined for the most part to Republican times. The ethnica are in part of foreign origin both in Greek and in Latin, the designations used by the peoples themselves being adopted, and in part native. The Latins introduced many from the other Italic dialects, as well as from Greek. II. A special treatment of forms in -tanus. This corresponds to Greek $\tau\eta\varsigma$, and is then (from the Augustan Age on) extended in its employment. Some words in -tanus have only an accidental resemblance to the ethnica.

24. E. Wölfflin, Ovile, Ziegenstall? In Tibull. 2. 1. 58, dux pecoris a pleno ovili, the term dux pecoris may be used of a ram, to avoid caper and caprile.

24. E. Wölfflin, Faustus. It is not necessary to assume with Bréal a neuter *favos, since faustus may be derived from favos (favor); cf. honestus from honos (honor).

25-40. S. Schlossmann, Tributum, tribuere, tribus. Tributum is not from tribus, but from tribuere, which originally meant "divide, share". Tribus is also from tribuere, not from tres.

40. E. Löfstedt, Stantes missi. Doubts Bréal's explanation of this phrase in ALL. IX. 599 (A. J. P. XXVIII. 341); Bréal overlooked Sen. Epist. 92. 26, where stans means "while he still stands and fights".

41-61. C. Weyman, Sprachliches und Stilistisches zu Florus und Ambrosius. In Flor. 1. 20. 2 would read quam mox with cod. Bamberg. and in 1. 4. 7, ne qui sexus. Other textual notes and comparisons with Ambrosius follow. The rhetorical nature of Florus' style becomes clearer by comparison with the Declamationes, Seneca Trag. and other rhetorical prose and poetry. Asyndeton of three members is common in his work. In the second part of his paper W. expresses the belief that Ambrosius wrote the "Jewish War" (Cf. Landgraf, ALL. XII. 465 ff.) Examples of his rhetorical style are cited. Ambrosius sometimes shows correspondence with Juvenal (e. g. X. 148 ff. and VIII. 215), but W. regards this as due to the use by both of

rhetorical commonplaces, not to direct influence of Juvenal on Ambrosius.

61–62. J. Denk, *Λήκυθος*, fem. lecythus, masc. Undoubted examples of a masculine lecythus occur in the Vulgate.

62. W. Heraeus, Fritamentum. Would read this word, instead of fretamentis, in Gell. 5. 1. 1; cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. II. 580. 42.

63–74. G. Landgraf, Bemerkungen zum sog. poetischen Plural in der lateinischen Prosa. Both the gender and number of words were influenced by the requirements of metre. In considering the poetic plural those cases must be excluded in which the meaning of the singular and of the plural are not identical, a thing which is not always done by Mass (ALL. XII. 479 ff.), as well as those cases in which there is actually a plural force, such as harenæ, gemitus, and the like. The plural both in prose and in poetry is used to denote not only repetition but also unbroken extent (in space or in time), as in *glacies* meaning "eternal ice". The influence of *pluralia tantum* sometimes affects the number of synonyms; so *arae* from *altaria* (cf. *inter aras et altaria*, Plin. Paneg. 1. 5.) *epistulae* from *litteræ*. We must also recognize a poetic singular, e. g. *litera* in Ov. Heroid. 3. 1, *copia* in Plaut. Amph. 219, etc. Observing the necessary limitations, we find that the poetic plural is not so common as Keller assumes, nor does it play so insignificant a role as Dräger believes.

75–88. K. E. Goetz, Waren die Römer blaublind? An examination of the word *caeruleus* in prose and poetry leads Goetz to answer this question in the negative, so far as that word is concerned.

89–104. J. C. Jones, Simul, Simulac und Synonyma. A thorough historical study of the numerous words in Latin meaning "as soon as". The first instalment is devoted mainly to *simul* (*simulac*) and *quom extemplo*.

105–112. O. Hey, Zur Enallage adiectivi. Enallage is a modern term for which the ancient grammarians used *hypallage*. It consists in the transfer of an adjective attribute from the substantive to which it seems to belong to another substantive; e. g. *angusti claustra Pelori*, Aen. 3. 411. A history of the study of the subject is followed by a collection of interesting examples, including double enallage, as in Aen. 6. 268.

112. O. Hey, Zur Aussprache des C. Evidence for the assimilation of C in an epigram of Ausonius (52, p. 331 Peiper) where *caelo* forms a series with *salo* and *solo*.

113–118. E. Wölfflin, Nach Zwanzig Jahren. A survey of the work accomplished by the ALL., and a statement of the principles of modern Lexicography.

119-138. *Miscellen.* W. Heraeus, *Zur Sprache der Mülomedicina Chironis.* Lexical and grammatical notes.

W. Heraeus, *Sueris.* This word is the primitive of suericulum, *Tir. Not.* p. 103. 59. It is a nominative fem. and should be introduced into the lexicons as such, while the so-called genitive form sueris should be ejected.

Th. Sinko, *Lucricupido, -onis.* Would read lucricupidonem in *Apul. dog. Plat.* 2. 15, instead of lucricupidum (*Skutsch, ALL. XII. 200; A. J. P. XXX. 217*).

A. Klotz, *Nochmals eques = equus.* An examination of *Gell. 18. 5. 4 ff.* with the conclusion that eques does not connote equus, but means "horse and rider". The first case of eques = equus seems to be in the *Genethliacus* of Maximianus, *Paneg. III. 8, p. 108. 18 Bähr.*

E. Löfstedt, *Glossographische Beiträge.* Vergil-glosses and miscellaneous notes.

A. Döhring, *Vindex, iudex, und Verwandtes.* These words do not contain the idea denoted by dicare and dicere, but in *vindex* the idea is separation or division. This word is therefore to be connected with *vid-* in *vidua, dividere*, etc. *Iudex* is connected with *iubeo* (stem *ioudh*). *Amicire* is from *am-*, "embrace" found in *amo*. The etymology of *iacio* is also discussed.

139-152. Review of the Literature for 1903. 1904.

153-177. I. Müller, *Lateinische Uebersetzungsversuche einiger Briefe Schillers über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen.* After a discussion of the Latin form of the title the letters and the Latin version are given in parallel columns with notes.

177. J. Denk, *Aspis = scutum.* To the one example in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* should be added *Priscillianus*, p. 24. 22 Sch.; cf. *ALL. III. 314.*

178. A. Becker, *Con corporalis, Kamerad, "Bundesbruder".* Suggests this meaning (cf. *ALL. XIII. 200*) in *Ps.-Quint. decl. mai. XIV. 12, p. 305 Burm.*, applied to the collegia (*corpora*) *iuventutis*, *CIL. III. 4272, IX. 4696*, etc.

179-184. R. Thurneysen, *Senium und desiderium.* Bücheler separates *senium*, "decay, wasting" from *senex* and *senium*, "old age", associating the former with Greek *σίνος, σίνεσθαι*, Germ. *schwinden*, Latin *sons*, etc. He believes that the meaning of *senium*, "wasting" would be inconsistent with the Roman feeling of respect for age. But *senescere* occurs in the sense of "pine away" in *Varro, R. R. 2. 2. 17* and is used of the waning of the moon in *1. 37. 5*. *Festus* derives *desiderium* from *sidus* (*Paul. Fest. 75*) and the connection of meaning has been much discussed. Th. connects it with the dog-star and the idea of weakness; cf. Eng. "languish for". *De-* is intensive; for the

simplex see Plin. N. H. 9. 58 caniculae exortu sideratur. We should expect the passive desiderari, but this is not a fatal objection. In the same way considerare is used of a group of stars.

184. E. Wölfflin, *Improspere*. This adverb and the corresponding adjective occur first in Tacitus. In early Latin prospercō pugnare occurs commonly and we should expect also improspere (cf. feliciter and infelicitate). But prospere = pro spere (from spes, speris), and prosper is a new form.

184. J. Cornu, Zu Lucan 6. 558. Would read vacabat with frag. N, instead of vocabat.

185-188. F. Glöckner, Zum Gebrauch von olli bei Vergil. This form is used by Vergil and Ennius in the repetition of certain Homeric phrases. In Aen. 1. 254 olli is to be taken with natae.

188. O. Keller, Cetrus = cetra. Note on Corp. Gloss. Lat. VI. 754.

189-209. E. Bickel, Die Fremdwörter bei dem Philosophen Seneca. Greek words are especially common in the philosophic writers, for example Cicero. In many cases the best MSS give these words in the Greek alphabet, but the use of Greek inflections is avoided as far as possible. The discussion of these questions is followed by an alphabetical list of Seneca's foreign words, in which those which occur only in his works are printed in spaced type. The number of these is small, and they occur mostly in the Epistles and in the criticisms of luxury. Numerous instances of the avoidance of Greek words, often by the use of metaphor, are cited.

209. O. Keller, Zum Corpus inscript. vol. I. Suggests per clivom for fertilivom in I. 1443, where Kitschl reads fertilior.

210. A. J. Kronenberg, Corrugare (corrogare). This word may stand in Apul. de deo Socrat. 7 in the sense of fissiculare (cf. Mart. Cap. 2. 28).

210. G. Lehnert, Miserinus. Would read miserini in Ps.-Quint. decl. mai. 1. 2 and 1. 5. The word occurs in Apul. Metam. 8. 21 and elsewhere (see ALL. XII. 96; A. J. P. XXX. 215). It forms another link between Apuleius and the Declamationes.

211-219. S. Schlossmann, Stipendum. Is derived from stips (stipi-pendium). It means first the tax to raise money for the pay of the soldiers, then money for military purposes in general, then war-tax, and finally tax in general.

219. E. Wölfflin, Zu Catull. 101. 2. Would read advenio has seras, frater, ad inferias, to avoid four dactyls. This reading if accepted, would show that Catullus visited his brother's grave on his return from Bithynia.

220. E. Wölfflin, *Deus agricola = Priapus*. In order to get this meaning would change the order of the distichs in Tibull. I. I. 14 ff.

221-232. E. Wölfflin, *Zum Chronicon Livianum von Oxyrhynchus*. Livy was not only epitomized as a whole, but certain parts of his great work were combined and epitomized: *bella* (*Florus*), speeches (see *Suet. Dom. 10*), *de viris illustribus* (*Aur. Vict.*), etc. We have 1) the *Epitome*, of the time of Tiberius; 2) the *Periochae*; 3) *Periochae* in the form of headings, not complete sentences; 4) *Chronicon*, lists of consuls, anecdotes, etc. The papyrus of Oxyrhynchus, ed. E. Kornemann, 1904, gives a portion of the last-named. There follows a discussion of the choice of subject, and of the language and style, with critical notes.

233-252. J. C. Jones, *Simul, simulac und Synonyma*. A continuation of the article on pp. 89 ff. *Cum primum, ut primum, ubi primum* are discussed, together with mixed forms and those due to analogy.

253-268. Rand-Hey, *Eine Predigt über Christi Höllensahrt*. A reprint with comments of Rand's publication of the *Sermo de confusione Diaboli et Inferni* in *Mod. Phil. II* (1904). 261 ff. from a Vienna codex. Many of the errors were due to the false interpretation of abbreviations.

268. O. Hey, *Nachtrag zur Enallage adiectivi*. Additional bibliography.

268. F. X. Burger, *Quadrantal*. In *Caper Gr. VII. 111. 5 K.* for *quadrata amphora* would read *quadrantal amphora*, the second word being a definition of the first.

269-284. *Miscellen*. O. Hey, *Atacinus*. Suggests that this formation is on the analogy of *Reatinus*; also that the former was first coined by P. Varro and the latter by M. Varro.

O. Hey, *Präpositives enim*. Found in Plaut. and Terence, and then not until Apuleius, the cases between Terence and Apuleius being all doubtful or false. This use of *enim* occurs ten times in Apuleius. In some cases the editors have made changes in the text, but Hey believes that this usage occurs in Apuleius, and that in such instances *enim* stands first. So also in Jul. Val. and in the author of the *Itiner. Alex.* (see XIII. 207).

W. Heraeus, *Tacitus und Sallust*. A comparison of Ann. 4. 49 ff. and Sall. Hist. fr. II. 87 Maur., in which many close parallels are pointed out.

W. Heraeus, *Lepcis neben Leptis*. Occurs in the Medicean codex of Tacitus and in inscriptions. An examination of the MSS of other authors shows frequent examples of this form. *Leptis* also occurs.

W. Heraeus, Ein vermeintliches Cicerofragment. The frag. inc. in C. F. W. Müller's edition, vol. IV, part III, 413, refers to in Verrem act. sec. IV. 124; cf. Agroecius, Gr. Lat. VII. 124. 22.

J. Denk, Aetna, masc. The masc. is not recognized by the Thes. Ling. Lat. I, 1160-62, but examples of it are recorded in Neue-Wagener, I. 954.

J. Denk, Zur Itala. Lexical notes.

S. Kraus, Das Tetrapylon in Caesarea. The reference to the magnificence of this work in ALL. XIII. 50 is not an isolated one.

F. X. Burger, Penitus amputare. In Exuperantius 7 penitus should be taken with amputatae and not with applicarunt (cf. Landgraf-Weyman, ALL. XII. 568, line 21). Thirteen examples of penitus amputare are cited.

B. A. Müller, Eorum = suus. Would retain eorum in this sense in line 28, col. III of the Latin translation of the Didascalia apostolorum (Hauer). The confusion of eorum and suus was very common in Gallic Latin of the sixth century.

O. Keller, Vertauschung von D und L im Lateinischen. In CIL. VIII. Suppl. 12509 and 12510 *'Αδάρειον* = Alarium occurs three times. The editors have corrected this, but Keller is of the opinion that it should stand, citing lacrima, lingua, levir, olfacere, and other examples of change of d to l. In CIL. VIII. 12508 *Δοῦε* = *Δοῦε* (luem).

285-300. Review of the Literature for 1904. 1905.

301-316. J. Zeller, Vicus, platea, platiodanni. An examination of the meanings of these words in the inscriptions of Upper Germany. He regards the last as a hybrid of Latin and Celtic origin, corresponding to magistri vicorum.

316. E. Wölfflin, Haec inter. Supports Landgraf's conjecture of vertitur haec inter misero lux, Hor. Serm. 2. 6. 59, comparing vertitur interea caelum (Enn. and Verg.). Horace uses haec inter instead of interea to emphasize the nominal idea in haec; it is not merely temporal.

317-360. E. Bednara, De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum quaestiones. A discussion of the words which for various reasons are not fitted for hexameter verse, as well as of the modifications resorted to and the substitutes employed.

360. J. Hausleiter, Contropatio. This word, a derivative of tropus from tropare, is used by Cassiodorus. See Complex. in epist. et acta apostolorum et apocalypsin, Maffei, Florence, 1721, from which H. cites two examples.

360. E. Löfstedt, Aperio. In the sermon published in ALL. XIV. 257 ff. aperuit (p. 263) is not intransitive, but se is to be supplied.

361-368. H. Stadler, Neue Bruchstücke der Quaestiones medicinales des Pseudo-Soranus. A publication, from a codex at Chartres, of the parts lacking in Rose, Anecdota Graecolatina.

368. B. A. Müller, Lapis als Femininum bei Julius Valerius. A new example in Jul. Val. 2. 18, p. 100. 22 Kübler, according to cod. Taurinensis a II. 2.

370-391. C. Thulin, Fulgur, fulmen, und Wortfamilie. The dictum of the writers on synonyms, that fulgur is used of the light and fulmen of the effect, does not hold for early Latin, and figurative uses must also be excepted. Fulgur is retained as the general word in religious formulas, in the technical writers, and in the poets, e. g., Hor. Carm. 2. 10. 12. In prose Varro and Livy always use fulmen, while Cic. and Verrius Flaccus use fulgur when referring to the Etruscan religion. There follows a discussion of the derivatives of these two words, of the epithets applied to lightning, and of its representation in art.

392. O. Keller, Der Name Paestum. The Latin equivalent of Posidonia is not easy to explain. From the name of the neighboring mountain we might get the following series: Ποσίδιον, Ποίσδιον, Ποίστην, Ποίστην, Poistum, Poestum, Paestum (cf. Pomerium, etc.). The word was perhaps connected by popular etymology with Oscan pestlum.

393-422. W. Heraeus, Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslangen Silben. An exhaustive collection of the evidence from the grammarians, with comments.

423-435. Miscellen. A. Zimmermann, Versuch einer Erklärung lateinischer Gentilsuffixe. The gentile names are derived from praenomina and cognomina by various suffixes. Thus those in -ilius come from names in -ulus; cf. familia from famulus: -inus with the idea of origin comes to mean son of; Marcellinus from Marcellus: -icius and -ius mean belonging to: -idius is related to -ius as -idus is to -us: -idius and -ediis are abstracted from names like Didius and Fidius, and are influenced by Greek names in -μίδης.

A. Klotz, Flumen, fluvius, amnis beim älteren Plinius. In his independent style, which is best seen when he is translating from Greek and not following a Latin source, Pliny regularly uses flumen. He uses amnis of Greek rivers, to avoid a heterogeneous form with masc. river-names; and also when some form of fluo occurs in the same clause.

J. Denk, Agniculam facere. Evidence is given for the view that this expression does not mean "sacrifice" in Thes. Ling. Lat. I. 1350. 50-51, but "imitate, represent", i. e. se in ferinas species transformare.

J. Denk, Anabolarium = anabularium (Thes. Ling. Lat. II. 13. 7). Evidence for the existence of this word.

J. Denk, Zur Itala. Antelena = antelaena, $\mu\eta\lambda\omega\tau\eta$, Schafpelz. A correction of Thes. Ling. Lat. II. 150. 47-55.

O. Hey, Amica. Notes the form amicabus in CIL. VI. 7671. In cases where there was no ambiguity amicis was used; e. g., Pl. Bacch. 712.

M. Niedermann, Portica = porticus. In the Itala fragment from the monastery of St. Paul in Kärnten portae quoniam in Ezechiel 42. 5 should be porticae; the fem. form is found also in Corp. Gloss. Lat. V. 442. 11.

O. Keller, Hadra = lapis. Hence Hadria, "stone-city" from the breakwater in the harbor, and perhaps also the sea-name. Hadra, -ae, f. = lapis is found in the Leyden and Paris scholia on Juv. 4. 40, not in the schol. Bern. on Verg. Georg. 2. 158, as Georges records it. Atrium may perhaps be derived from this same word, which seems to be of Italic origin, since "blackened chamber" is not appropriate to some uses of the word, if to any.

436-448. Review of the Literature for 1905.

448. Corrections of ALL. XIV. 276, 288, and 278.

449-477. W. Heraeus, Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslangen Silben. Further evidence from the grammarians.

477. J. Denk, Aspergo, $\delta\rho\mu\alpha\omega$. From abs-pergo, a correction of Thes. Ling. Lat. II. 817-821.

478. E. Wölfflin, Zu den Perfecta auf -erunt und -ere. The form -ere is the prevalent one in Cato, Orig. and in Sall. Caesar on the other hand has but two cases, both in the Bell. Civ. It is common in hexameter verse. The form in vulgar Latin is -erunt and not -ere. Vitruvius prefers the former, and although Petronius has 13 cases of -ere, against 86 of -erunt, his use of the form is due to rhythmical considerations, since he never uses -ere at the end of a sentence, and confines its use to verbs with long penults.

479-507. C. Weyman, Die editio princeps des Niceta von Remesiana, des Sängers des Te Deum laudamus. A notice of A. E. Burn's Niceta of Remesiana, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1905, with additional observations on the text and on the language. An index is appended.

508. H. A. Strong, Zu den Hisperica famina. Notes on eight passages.

509-514. C. Thulin, Fulgur, fulmen, und Wortfamilie. The metaphorical uses.

515-523. E. Wölfflin, Die dreifache Alliteration in der zweiten Vershälfte. A consideration of alliterative combinations of adjective and noun (caeca cupido, in diti domo, etc.), of alliterative

series of two words each (*Plaut. Capt.* 904 ff.), of complete verses composed of words beginning with the same letter, or repeating the same sound (*Naev.* and *Enn.*). Alliteration is not of Greek origin, but Ennius transferred it from the Saturnian to the hexameter, to make his verse pleasant to Roman ears. Vergil followed him to some extent, but alliteration became much less common in the later writers of epic poetry, and Lucilius, Lucretius, and Ovid make but little use of it. Plautus is so rich in alliteration that imitation of the Saturnian in this respect cannot be assumed in his case.

524-531. J. C. Jones, *Simul, simulac und Synonyma. The combinations with mox.*

532-604. E. Bednara, *De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum quaestiones.* A further consideration of the means of avoiding forms and words not suited to hexameter verse. Syntactical remedies: plural for singular and vice versa, use of the vocative and other modifications in the cases, peculiarities due to enallage, hendiadys, etc.

605-610. Review of the Literature for 1905, 1906.

610. Necrology. Prof. Wilhelm von Christ.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXXVIII (1909).

Janvier.

Raymond Weeks. *Études sur Aliscans (suite et fin).* 43 pages. This final instalment of the article contains: X. Résumé des précédents articles; XI. Éléments qui composent Aliscans; XII. Conclusion. "Tout le monde admettra . . . que la modification ne peut s'être produite que de deux façons: 1° par un développement lent, et, pour ainsi dire, organique et naturel; 2° par l'incorporation d'épisodes venus d'ailleurs."

Paul Meyer. *Les Plus Anciens Lapidaires français.* 27 pages. This first instalment contains: I. Du livre de Pannier sur les lapidaires français; II. Du premier lapidaire publié par Pannier; III. Du texte contenu dans le ms. B. N. fr. 14969. IV. Lapidaire du ms. B. N. fr. 14969. This article is a new handling of a subject whose treatment had been only partially completed by Léopold Pannier when he died on Nov. 9, 1875.

Arthur Piaget. *Le Songe de la Barge de Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal de Hainaut.* 40 pages. Voltaire looked upon Jean de Werchin as the original in the flesh of the immortal Don Quixote of Cervantes, but the author of this article does not think that he

deserves such high honor. The poem here published is extant in a unique manuscript now at Chantilly.

M.-J. Minckwitz. Notice de quelques Manuscrits du Trésor de Brunet Latin. 9 pages. The author here discusses the value of the two fragmentary manuscripts preserved at Berne.

Hugh A. Smith. Some Remarks on a Berne Manuscript of the *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroy de Bouillon*. 9 pages. This article is intended to correct the erroneous statements of A. G. Kruger published in the *Romania* in 1894.

Mélanges. G. Huet, Romans arturiens et récits irlandais : un nouveau rapprochement. Giulio Bertoni, L'Histoire du chansonnier provençal ambrosien D 465 inf. No. 25. Mario Roques, Roumain alnic, alnicie. A. Kluyver, Tropare, contropare. A. Thomas, Note complémentaire sur vernis.

Comptes rendus. Willy Schulz, Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenant Vivian (A. Terracher). E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, Early English Lyrics, amorous, divine, moral and trivial (L. Brandin). G. T. Northup, El Libro de los gatos (A. Morel-Fatio : "bien conduite"). A. Paz y Méria, Cancionero y obras en prosa de Fernando de la Torre (A. Morel-Fatio). Clemente Merlo, Grillotalpa vulgaris (A. Thomas). A. Ernout, Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin (A. Thomas). Hugo Wendel, Die Entwicklung der Nachtonvokale aus dem Lateinischen ins Altprovenzalische (A. Thomas). Paul Duchon, Grammaire et Dictionnaire du patois bourbonnais (A. Thomas). J.-E. Choussy, Le Patois bourbonnais : Simple essai étymologique (A. Thomas). Henri Lemaître et Henri Clouzot, Trente Noëls poitevins du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle (A. Jeanroy).

Périodiques. Revue des langues romanes, LI, janv.-oct. (P. M.). Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXII. 1-2 (M. Roques, with long discussion of etymologies). Bulletin historique et philologique, année 1906 (P. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Georges Steffens and Ed. Wölfflin. "L'étude du français parlé au Canada, brillamment inaugurée il y a près de vingt-cinq ans par le prof. A. M. Elliott, de Baltimore (voir Rom., XV, 158), et pour laquelle le Bulletin du parler français au Canada fournit tant d'excellents matériaux, attire de plus en plus l'attention des linguistes du Canada et des États Unis."

Livres annoncés sommairement. 22 titles. William Averill Stowell, Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address (P. M.). Ch. Eugley Mathews, Cist and Cil: A Syntactical Study (H. Yvon).

Avril.

A. Thomas. Fragments de Farces, Moralités, Mystères, etc. (B. N. nouv. acq. fr. 10660). 19 pages. The well-known Munich

bookseller L. Rosenthal has recently presented to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a collection of manuscript fragments recovered from old bindings. Fourteen fragments are here inventoried, and in part published. They throw new light on the Mediaeval French stage.

Gertrude Schoepperle. *Chievrefoil.* 23 pages. After a comparison of numerous legends similar to Marie de France's lay, the authoress concludes that the French form of the story may go back to an original Pictish legend with Drostan as its hero.

Auguste Longnon. *Nouvelles Recherches sur les Personnages de Raoul de Cambrai.* 35 pages. The author endeavors to refute the new theory of the origin of Raoul de Cambrai recently advanced by M. Joseph Bédier. He does not believe that the annals of Flodoardus were known to the clerks of Cambrai.

Paul Meyer. *Les Plus Anciens Lapidaires français* (2^e article). 32 pages. V. Du texte contenu dans le ms. 2200 de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. VI. Rédactions en prose du lapidaire *Evax fut un mult riche reis.* Numerous extracts from the manuscripts are here published.

Amos Parducci. *La canzone di "Mal Maritata" in Francia nei secoli XV-XVI.* 40 pages. The author traces the history of this popular lyric poem during the latter portion of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period in France, remarking that it has lived among the people down to the present day.

Comptes rendus. Werner Hensel, *Die Vögel in der provenzalischen und nordfranzösischen Lyrik des Mittelalters* (A. Thomas). Karl Reuschel und Karl Gruber, *Philologische und volkskundliche Arbeiten* Karl Vollmöller zum 16 Oktober 1908 dargeboten (A. Thomas). Arthur Piaget, *Le Miroir aux Dames* (A. Thomas). Eugène Rolland, *Flore populaire*, tome VII (A. Thomas). Gustav Körting, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (A. Thomas). Andreas C. Ott, Eloi d'Amerval und sein "Livre de la Diablerie" (Émile Picot).

Périodiques. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CVIII-CXXI, 1-2 (Salverda De Grave). *Studi medievali*, I. 2-II. 4 (P. M.). *Annales du midi*, XX (A. Thomas). *Reale istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, Rendiconti*, série II, T. XLI-XLII.

Chronique. Obituary notice of Dr. Dejeanne. Summary of *Philologie et linguistique*, a memorial volume in honor of the sixtieth birthday of M. Louis Havet. *La Société internationale de dialectologie romane*.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 11 titles. James Geddes, *Study of an Acadian-French Dialect spoken on the North Shore*

of the Baie des Chaleurs ("l'étude de M. Geddes est faite avec soin et compétence").

Juillet.

A. Thomas. Notes étymologiques et lexicographiques. 53 pages. This first instalment of a longer article is preceded by a bibliography of dialect dictionaries for the French provinces containing fifty-two titles. After this the etymologies of some fifty-one words are studied as localized usually in one or more provinces, Canada being included in the list.

E. Philipon. Le suffixe -in, -ina en Moyen-Rhodanien. 12 pages. This article is a contribution to the ethnographical and etymological studies of M. Muret on the place-names of South-Eastern France, which was successively occupied by the Ligurians, the Latins and the Germans.

A.-T. Baker. Vie de Saint Panuce. 7 pages. The Duke of Portland owns a French manuscript of the thirteenth century containing a collection of lives of saints, of which one is here published. The manuscript is now preserved in the library of Welbeck Abbey, but in the fourteenth century it belonged to a convent at Campsey near Woodbridge in Suffolk County, as appears from an inscription on the last leaf. The Vie de Saint Panuce was probably composed by Nicole Bozon.

Mélanges. Gaston Raynaud, Le jeu de la Briche ou la Brichemusard. J.-A. Herbert, The Monk and the Bird (mentions H. L. D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances, Vol. III, as forthcoming). A. Thomas, Le suffixe -trix en Franche-Comté. A. Thomas, Les Moules de Cayeux. A. Thomas, Meuslic dans Girart de Roussillon. A. Thomas, La Provenance des Regrets et Complaintes des Gosiers Alterez. P. M., Mélanges anglo-normands : I. Correspondance amoureuse ; II. Chanson d'amour ; III. Recette médicale.

Comptes rendus. J. Spanke, Zwei altfranzösische Minnesinger: Die Gedichte Jehan's de Renti und Oede's de la Couroierie (A. Jeanroy). Joseph Bédier et Pierre Aubry, Les Chansons de Croisade (A. Jeanroy). Dr. Emil Lorenz, Die Kastellanin von Vergi (Gaston Raynaud). Bernard et Henri Prost, Inventaires mobiliers et extraits de comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363-1477), tome I et tome II, fasc. 1 (P. M.). Wilhelm Friedmann, Altitalienische Heiligenlegenden nach der Handschrift XXXVIII, 111 der Bibl. Nazionale Centrale in Florenz (Giulio Bertoni). G. Kalff, Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde, Tomes II-IV (G. Huet). K. Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la langue française, Tome III (A. Thomas). A. Silvani, I libri della Genesi e di Ruth figurati e illustrati in antico veneto (G. Bertoni). Achille Ratti, Vita di Bonacosa da Beccalore (1352-1381) ed una lettera

spirituale a Bianca Visconti di Savoia (G. Bertoni). Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, Documents nouveaux sur les mœurs populaires et le droit de vengeance dans les Pays-Bas au XV^e siècle (P. M.). V. Chichmaret, Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies lyriques (Gaston Raynaud).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXII. 3 (Mario Roques, with long note on H. O. Sommer, Zur Kritik der altfrz. Artusromane in Prosa). Revue de Philologie française et provençale, XX-XXI (P. M.). Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, X (P. M.). Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig, XIII (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Jean Bastin and Karl von Reinhardstöttner. Controversy between Auguste Longnon and Joseph Bédier concerning Raoul de Cambrai.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 15 titles. K. Bartsch, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français, neuvième édition revue et corrigée par L. Wiese. Guy Everett Snavely, The Æsopic Fables in the Mireoir Historial of Jehan de Vignay (P. M.). Paget Toynbee, Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c. 1380-1844).

Octobre.

Paul Meyer. Les Plus Anciens Lapidaires français (3^e article). 72 pages. VII. Le lapidaire alphabétique en vers. Publication of a long French poem found in a twelfth or thirteenth century manuscript preserved in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge. Extracts from several Latin lapidaries are given by way of illustration, together with a facsimile of the Old-French manuscript. Copious notes and a vocabulary are also appended.

A. Thomas. Notes étymologiques et lexicographiques (suite). 34 pages. This second and last instalment of the article discusses the etymologies of some twenty-six words, chiefly dialectal.

Gustave Cohen. Le Théâtre à Paris et aux environs à la fin du XIV^e siècle. 9 pages. There has always been a considerable gap in the history of literature in France between the liturgical drama of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the great mysteries of the fifteenth century. The present article seeks to partially fill this gap by giving some notes on the drama at the close of the fourteenth century.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, Alain Chartier en Hongrie. Mose-miller, Manceau ameturée. Mosemiller, Berrichon fenée. Ferdinand Lot, Encore Vivien et Larchamp: Brève réponse à M. Hermann Suchier.

Comptes rendus. Émile Levy, Petit dictionnaire provençal-français (A. Thomas). Georges Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire (A. Piaget). Annibale Tenneroni, Inizii di antiche poesie italiane religiose e morali (Giulio Bertoni).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXII. 4-6 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). Revue des langues romanes, LI, nov.-déc., LII, janv.-fév., mars-avril (P. M.). Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig, XIV (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Eugène Rolland, James Bruyn Andrews and Grégoire Tocilescu. Memorial volume for Prof. Fr. B. Gummere of Haverford College. Discovery of an autograph manuscript of Petrarch at Berlin.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 11 titles. C. H. Grandgent, Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia, Vol. I, Inferno. Fr. Bliss Luquien, The Reconstruction of the Original Chanson de Roland (P. M.). P. M., À Propos du texte de Joinville.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

Ritschl, whom I adored afar off when I followed his lectures in 1852-1853 (A. J. P. V 340), was a sworn foe of rhymed translations from classical poetry, and I recall the scornful expression of his mobile countenance as he held up to our derision a new rendering of Horace in German rhyme and read out with contemptuous emphasis the opening of Od. II 2: Sallust, du bist dem Erz nicht hold. If teachers only realized the effect of their *obiter dicta* on their pupils, they might be a little more careful in their utterances. From that time, doubtless, dates my abandonment of rhyme and my long series of failures in the rendering of Greek and Latin verse into the metres of the original (A. J. P. XXX 354). 'The Restraint of Rhyme too often forces the ingenious Translator to abandon the true sense of the Poet and for the sake of a sounding Word, to put in something of his own', says old Dunster, a quotation which I owe to a lover of Horace, who has appended to a privately printed translation of the poet a string of protests against the meretriciousness of the modern Muse, who walks and minces as she goes and makes a tinkling with her feet. Of course, every reader can supply specimens of passages that have been utterly ruined by rhyme, but there is just one illustration that will not be suppressed. It has haunted me for thirty odd years, because the exigency of rhyme has spoiled the dramatic propriety of a speech in the *Odyssey* and the dramatic propriety of the speeches in the *Odyssey* is a matter of perpetual wonder to the student of Homer. It is hardly possible to refine too much on the subtlety of the workmanship or, if you choose, the fidelity of the mirror. In the final scene between Odysseus and Nausikaa, the daughter of Alkinoos says:

χαῖρε ξεῖν' ἴνα καὶ ποτ' ἐών ἐν πατρίδι γαιῇ
μνήσῃ ἐμεῦ, ὅτι μοι πρώτη ζωγρί' ὄφελεις.

The *īna* is in the air. So much the better. It is feminine syntax, the same feminine syntax that one recognizes in Hera's confused reply to Zeus when he awakes in anger to find how she has beguiled him (o 35 foll.). It is pitiful to read what some grammarians have written about the exceptional construction of the Hera passage and the irregular use of what I have called the feminine negative (A. J. P. XXXI 71). These are they who have never read the novels of the late Charles Reade. More's the pity for he knew something about woman's language (A. J. P. V 68; cf. IX 151). Now in the days when I tried to interpret

the charm of the *Odyssey* to an audience of non-Grecians, I was much given to drawing on Worsley. His romantic rendering is as seductive practically as it is hopelessly wrong theoretically and I needed his lucent syrup for my philtre. But what does he make of the passage, thanks to the fatality of rhyme?

Hail stranger guest! When fatherland and wife
Thou shall revisit, then remember me
Since to me first thou owest the price of life.

Surely, at such a time a wife is an inexpressive she.

And yet I have no quarrel with Worsley, nor have I any quarrel with Professor GILBERT MURRAY's translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* (Oxford University Press). Professor MURRAY's success in conveying the thrill of his conception of Hellenism to those that are without the pale entitles him to the admiration and the gratitude of all professed Grecians, and I mention this, his most recent study, only to express my appreciation of his easy mastery of a difficult art. To translate the choruses into rhyme, for that there is precedent enough, but to go back to the days of Dryden and put bells on the toes of the dialogue as well as jingling rings on the fingers of the singers shews the supreme confidence of a genius that defies criticism. The best plan for the Grecian would be to read Professor MURRAY's *Iphigenia* as if it were an original poem and try to find in it the charm that Professor MURRAY's renderings have for those who see Euripides only through his eyes. It is a truer vision than some of us had when we were under the thrall of the once prevalent school of German aestheticism, a truer vision than was accorded even to Jebb (A. J. P. XXVIII 483). I myself do not need the adjustment that was eminently necessary for me fifty years ago. No one who has lived and loved and suffered, who has been taught by the rude discipline of war the ineluctable hold of the native soil, no one who has learned the deeper meaning of everyday things and everyday people, who has learned to answer to the call of the woods, and above all to the call of the sea, no one with such a training needs a vindication of Euripides as a poet. My business ought rather to be with Professor MURRAY's text-edition of Euripides which has been happily completed and of which much good has been said by those who are more competent to judge than I am of his constitution of the text. But as I turn from the translation to the original I am reminded of those who are ready to say, in illustration of a familiar thesis, that an intelligent reader, innocent of Greek, will get much more out of GILBERT MURRAY's translation or transcription than can possibly be squeezed out of the

original by the schoolboy, who painfully puts together what are to him the dissected members of a Greek sentence and clothes them, not with the vernacular—that might be amusing—but with the piebald lingo that has been handed down from schoolmaster to schoolmaster as the proper attire for the classics. To the true Grecian a little Greek is better than none. Even the proper names are untranslatable. The finest line in Racine, says Gautier, is 'la fille de Minos et de Pasiphaé', which occurs suspiciously early in the *Phèdre*, just the position in which favorite verses are apt to occur. But 'Minos and Pasiphaë' in English has no such effect as 'Minos et Pasiphaé' in French, and Pope's *Iphigénia* and Professor MURRAY's *Iphigénia* lack the dactylic surge of the Greek 'Ιφιγένεια, whose other and queenlier name is 'Ιφιάνασσα. Listen: ή ν' Αὐλίδι σφαγεῖσ' ἐπιστέλλει τάδε | ζῶσ' Ιφιγένεια, τοῖς ἵκει δ' οὐ ζῶσ' ἔτι:

She that was slain in Aulis, dead to Greece
Yet quick, Iphigenia, sendeth peace.

'Sendeth peace', peace where there is no peace and 'Greece' where there is no Greece, but only the *ἵκει* of the world of the loved and lost. And so against my firm resolve I am launched into the discussion of the hopelessness of translation, which is really an apology for my own acknowledged failures.

Translation is, indeed, a hopeless task, but this very hopelessness is, in a sense, the measure of its usefulness as an initiation into the spirit of the author and of the language. No better way of introducing the novice to the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace than a close study of the *Commentarius ad modum Minelli*, the *ordo* of the Dauphin edition. Every change of a word is for the worse and the schoolboy learns why. In like manner, I am grateful to that fine scholar, Émile Egger, from whose *Grammaire Comparée* I learned sixty years ago the pedagogical value of the Paraphrase of the *Iliad*. And so it comes to pass that when I am forced to compare a translation, line by line, with the original, I go to school again and my heart is stirred to sympathy with the man who feels the original doubtless better than I do, though perhaps he is less meticulous. Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος with which Euripides opens the I. T. is a problem. To an Attic the patronymic meant so much more than it did to the Boeotian, who used it familiarly. ὁ Κλεινεῖ παῖ heightens the tone of ὁ παῖ Κλεινίου, itself high enough. We are in the sphere of ὁ Κρόνει παῖ Πέας. No wonder then that an admirable Grecian like Professor MURRAY is not content with 'Tantalid Pelops', but finds himself moved to prefix 'Child of the man of torment and of pride', and so carries us back to the First Olympian of Pindar to which both Tantalos and Pelops belong. However, the same problem recurs in τῆς

Tυνδαρείας θυγατρός, but as the chief thing about Tyndareos in his marital partnership with Zeus, we have to be satisfied with 'Clytemnestra', though we are tempted to use the language of Amphitryon: *τις τὸν Διὸς ἔννοιαν βροτῶν*; — *θοᾶς ἀν' ἵπποις* calls up to the mind of the Greek scholar a very different image from 'on flying steeds'. He remembers out of the same First Olympian Poseidon's *χρυσέαισιν ἀν' ἵπποις*, and he thinks of Pelops and his *δίφρον τε χρύσεον πτεροῖσιν τ' ἀκάμαντας ἵπποις*, whereas 'on flying steeds' transports one to Rubens and his famous picture of the Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri. To be sure, the horse is sometimes a very inconvenient animal to the translator, and 'steed' is generally accepted as a poetical equivalent. So Jebb, accounted a prince of translators, renders *εὐίσπου τᾶσδε χώρας* 'this land of goodly steeds'. By the way *εὐ-* in compounds is often negligible and I should prefer to say 'Land of steeds' as Burns says 'Land of cakes'. True, 'steed' is a fine old A.-S. word, but it means 'stallion' when it does not mean 'mare', and the Authorized Version which is chiefly concerned with chariots does not use it. So here we have to do with a chariot. The steed does not work so well in harness and we feel the same incongruity that amuses us when we read:

Barbs, barbs, alas! how swift you flew
Her neat postwagon trotting in.

The little word *τε* in *Μενέλαος Ἀγαμέμνον τε* is a resurgent trouble. Every Grecian feels the difference between *τε* and *καὶ*, but to reproduce it would cost more than it comes to and would thus violate one of the great canons of translation. *τε* links. Combine it with *καὶ* and we have a pair of handcuffs, a pair of nippers such as Sokrates claps on the notorious brace of sophists, *ὦ Εἰθύδημέ τε καὶ Διονυσόδωρε*. But despite the canon just cited Professor MURRAY is overborne by his feeling for *τε* and interprets it by 'linked king with king'. All this is fourth-form erudition, doubtless, but the fact abides that for everyone who knows Greek at all this fantastic procession of caps and bells dances down the margin of every translation from beginning to end. It utterly unfits the grammarian for the right kind of criticism and the 'poor soul' is justly stigmatized as a 'mean spirit'.

It has been said of Flaubert that imagination was his Muse and reality his conscience. Flaubert is not a model for a syntactician, but there are to my mind worse formulae for the kind of study to which I am addicted than this characteristic of Flaubert. No patient assemblage of details will take the place of vision (A.J.P.)

XXIII 113), but there is no vision that is worthy of record without the patient assemblage of details. The false scent that we grammarians follow so often is really a matter of imagination and I do not know a finer picture of certain investigators than the one Xenophon furnishes in his *Kynegetikos* 3, 10 where he is telling of a pack of poor harriers: *μεταθέουσι γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἀσαφῶς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἔτεραι, αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως, φύγοντες δὲ ἀλλαὶ ἐκκυνοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἵχρος διὰ τέλους συμπαραφερόμεναι.* Let me give Mr. Dakyns's version. I cannot improve on it for my present purpose. 'They run on without clear motive, some of them; others taking too much for granted; and a third set simply play at hunting; or from pure jealousy, keep questing about beside the line, continually rushing and tumbling over one another'. I have not made up my mind whether I belong to *αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι* or to *δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἔτεραι*, but I have had no little amusement from time to time in watching the antics of the rest of the pack. Some months ago I was indiscreet enough to follow Stahl in his coursing over the field of the Greek verb, and though I was not nearly so much bored as I pretended to be, I came home dogtired after the hunt and closed the volume of the *Syntax des griechischen Verbums*, never to open it again for continuous study. Those who know the subject know that the essentials of the second half are contained in the first and why should I be at the pains of looking up the various passages in which the A. J. P. has anticipated both facts and doctrine or protested in advance against Stahl's teachings? Such a proceeding would savor of arrogance unless it were accompanied by references to the sources of my own wisdom—which are often hidden from me—forgotten dissertations, stray notes in a mass of commentaries, chance utterances of some dead teacher. My syntactical researches have heightened my personal enjoyment of Greek literature and that suffices me at the close of my long career. The rest of the pack can quarrel as much as they please about the first smell—real or fancied. And yet a number of the Journal without some allusion to Greek syntax as a number of the Journal without some quotation from Pindar would give rise to the suspicion that I had lost my bearings. *ἢ β', ω φίλοι, κατ' ἀμεντίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινήθην δρθάν κέλευθον λών τοπρίν.* And having thus done my *devoir* to Pindar, I proceed to remark on a couple of syntactical matters that have forced themselves on my attention of late.

The doctrine of the cases is the opprobrium of syntacticians (A. J. P. II 88; XXIII 17). It was said by them of old time that *σῶμα* and *σῆμα* were one and I am tempted to say that *πτῶσις* and *πτῶμα* are one and that the carcasses of the cases have fallen in the wilderness of vain speculation. The verb,—if there be such a thing as the verb,—is the soul, and the soul according to Plato

is the *prius* that clothes itself with matter, but the process of putting on is a very fanciful one. The verb itself is not a simple problem as we have seen, but the noun is infinitely more difficult. The verb can be disposed of after a fashion in a catechism, but the noun belongs to the world of things. And you cannot bet on the cases. *ἐνδημεῖω*, said an American Orbilius sixty years ago, ought to take the dative, and so he changed all the accusatives to datives and earned the everlasting contempt of Greek scholars. He was only one degree removed, however, from Cobet, whose uniformitarian soul kicked at *καραπᾶσθαι* with the dative (A. J. P. XXIII 23). The definitions are too vague to be of any practical service. The outer object evolves itself from the inner object, but once evolved, it goes its own sweet way. When the free love marriage of verb and noun is sanctioned by usage, by common law, we try to understand it, or pretend to understand it. For my part I find no comfort in elastic definitions. 'Elastic definition' is a contradiction in terms and I am not surprised to find that in a recent number of the IGF. XXVII 121 f. Brugmann quarrels with the so-called accusative of respect (Akkusativ der Beziehung), though he finds himself obliged to use the terminology. I cannot undertake to follow here his evolution of the use and his restrictions of it. 'Beziehung', 'respect', 'extent'—all these terms instead of clearing up the matter stand between the student of language and the true conception. Let such an one strengthen his vision by a contemplation of the so-called accusative in Hebrew and the Aryan accusative will be a bagatelle.

I have had occasion to tell the story of the Greek infinitive a mort of times in the last thirty years, how it began with the dative or, if you choose, the dative-locative of a verbal noun and won its way to being the representative of the finite verb in *oratio obliqua*; how the dative case lent itself to the conception of finality, a finality which survives in the accusative of result into which the dative was deadened, the article being as it were the seal of the coffin; how the early time cared not to divide finality into purpose and tendency, purpose that lies in the individual, tendency that resides in the nature of things. If man does not purpose, the gods are then to purpose. Those Filipinos who, according to STARR (*Filipino Riddles*, World's Book Co., Yonkers, 1900), call everything that is, a block as well as a blockhead, 'a creature of God', occupy the primitive plane. The world is full of gods, as the first Greek philosopher said, and the Greek of Homer's time is as the poet of Tennyson's time, who recognizes an increasing purpose in the history of the world. The world is full of demons to thwart the purpose of the individual. One returns home to wed. No. One returns home to die. It was not until after Homer that the distinction between

purpose and tendency was formally made. The purpose became a quasi-purpose and *ωτε* was the sign thereof, and *ωτε* (*ως*) with the infinitive gave the quasi-purpose as *ως* with the participle was used afterwards to give the quasi-fact. All this I had threshed out, the essentials of it, long before some of the monographs that Mr. CHARLES JONES OGDEN has paraded in the bibliography of his dissertation—*De Infinitivi Finalis vel Consecutivi Constructione apud priscos poetas Graecos* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1909). But so far as Dr. OGDEN is concerned, I have written in vain, for his reference to my Syntax is meaningless and I doubt whether he has studied Berdolt or he might have been prompted by Berdolt to read what I have written on the subject of the consecutive infinitive, part only of which has passed over into Goodwin's Moods and Tenses. Those who are acquainted with my views will not be surprised, therefore, that I do not see much benefit to be gained from Dr. OGDEN's categories in a domain in which the absence of discrimination is the important feature. Of course, Dr. OGDEN puts STAHL's monumental book on his list. Whether he has studied STAHL or not is another matter, but I will allow myself to give a summary of STAHL's view in order to shew the irreconcilable antipodism. In my discussion of the matter I start with the finality of the infinitive as I should start with the personality of the dative. In his chapter on the consecutive and final infinitive STAHL starts with the consecutive. Both consecutive infinitive and final infinitive, he says, have the common notion of consequence. Only in the final infinitive the consequence is aimed at; and then he proceeds to distinguish between the infinitive of 'Zweck' and the infinitive of 'Absicht'. 'Zweck', he is good enough to tell us, is objective, and lies in the nature of the thing itself. 'Absicht' has to do with the subjective 'Zweck' of the subject. But this playing with an objective object and a subjective object does not bring the veteran explorer much practical comfort. What he calls 'Zweck' we call 'tendency', what he calls 'Absicht' we call 'purpose', but he finds great difficulty in distinguishing everywhere between 'Folge' and 'Zweck' and still greater in distinguishing between 'Zweck' and 'Absicht'. I wish the translator of STAHL all joy, for here as elsewhere the eminent scholar makes use of German synonyms that have no exact counterparts in English (A. J. P. XXIX 270).

In his first edition of the *Wasps* of Aristophanes VAN LEEUWEN had not hit upon the three story arrangement of his notes, critical apparatus, exegetical commentary, proof-texts. This arrangement, which is followed in the later editions of the plays and has much in its favor, obtains in the new edition of the *Wasps* also. At this late day, it is not necessary to give

expression to any general recommendation of VAN LEEUWEN'S Aristophanic work, which has been cordially welcomed by all lovers of the poet everywhere and has become a necessary part of the scholar's apparatus. His commentary is sharp, clear, sensible and individual. Individual, did I say? An achromatic edition of Aristophanes would be an abomination and yet no sympathetic commentator of Aristophanes reflects the poet's smile at the same angle with his fellows and it is just here that criticism is apt to come in. VAN LEEUWEN is not afraid of criticism and lays stress upon his originality. True, he says that he has availed himself of studies that have appeared since the first edition of the *Wasps*, notably Starkie's edition (A. J. P. XIX 113), and he professes to have profited by the strictures of the philological press, but 'ante omnia' he cries, with a certain Dutch sturdiness, 'operam dedi ut meus manerem'; and on comparing the new edition with the old I find that he has stood to his colors like Washington Irving's Hardkoppig Piet and sometimes, where it would have been better if he had surrendered. To be sure, he reads now v. 177: ἐξάγειν δοκῶ (A. J. P. XIV 498) and he has supplied a note to v. 231: ἵπας κύνεος and to v. 394: τὰς κάννας. There is a *conspectus metrorum* and ἀρέσκειν is allowed to take an accusative, but the monstrous etymology of ἐξεφρί-*εμεν* = ἐξεπαρι-*εμεν* abides, despite my protest; and whilst he has modified (v. 429) his untenable statement as to the 'tantum non semper' order, object inf. subject, he dies hard and merely substitutes 'constanter' for 'tantum non semper'. In a matter like this nothing short of exhaustive statistics will settle the point. See A. J. P. XIV, l. c.

There is no disputing the virtues and the value of Polybios. To everyone who has to do with history he is an inevitable study; and every earnest soul is apt to resent the contemptuous way in which that narrow rhetorician Dionysios of Halicarnassus dismisses him as Cicero dismisses those admirable orators whom no one reads. We say to ourselves, 'Polybios is interesting', but in the next breath we catch ourselves saying, 'He ought to be interesting', and wind up by asking ourselves the question: 'Why is he so tiresome?' Wisdom there is in Polybios, and to spare. Adventures there are that would furnish forth a library of shilling shockers. Why does not some one write a book of Stories from Polybios? There are glimpses of the life of the times such as we find in no other historian of antiquity. The lover of historical parallels will find a host of diagrams at his service. There are character sketches that remind one of the historical portraits in which moderns delight. There are bits of description that may give the topographer trouble, but which for all that seem singularly vivid to him who reads for entertainment. Those who have a weakness for anecdote and epigram

cannot complain of any lack of such things in Polybios. The speeches have meaning, have point and are not merely rhetorical exercises on the parade-ground of the commonplace. He is a conscientious writer, in fact, he makes too much of his conscientiousness, and there is or ought to be a charm in honesty. But he preaches too much, he sprawls too much. He is scrupulous in the avoidance of hiatus, but there is one hiatus that he cannot escape, the yawn in the face of his reader. The famous alternative of 'Guicciardini, or the galleys', doubtless suggested by the story of Dionysios and Philoxenos, repeats itself in the form of Polybios or the penitentiary. We can understand those who love to bathe in the *lactea ubertas* of Livy, but wading is the only word for most of the readers of Polybios; and the only way to forget the wading is to fish, and there is good fishing in the current of Polybios' history, so that Polybian specialists, not a few, have arisen of late years, and among these CARL WUNDERER is noteworthy for his interesting studies, of which mention has been made in the Journal (XXIII 349), and the third in the series is an essay on *Similes and Metaphors in Polybios* (Leipzig, Dieterich). Studies of this kind have multiplied greatly in recent times. The collection and sorting of such things may easily degenerate into more or less mechanical cataloguing and the true value of such collections, which lies very largely in the comparison of authors and periods and nationalities, is seldom realized, but WUNDERER has gone deeper into the matter and has succeeded in enhancing the puzzle why Polybios is not more interesting than he is. In the old times to edit an author was to take a brief in his case, but that rule does not hold nowadays and close association often serves to beget an antipathy, to which intimacy lends pungent expression. WUNDERER is not blind to the defects of Polybios, but he is after all a generous advocate.

'Nicht mit dem bekannten Dem und Dem zu verwechseln' was a favorite formula of Karl Friedrich Hermann's in his lectures on Greek and Roman Literature, in fact, so great a favorite that by force of habit we, his admiring disciples, were fain to write in our note-books 'T-e-u-f-f-e-l, nicht mit dem bekannten Teufel zu verwechseln'. Of course, the especial public of the Journal is supposed not to need such admonitions, but I am told that rank outsiders sometimes read *Brief Mention*, and even professional scholars have been known to confound the two Ernestis and the two Nitzschs (A. J. P. V 342, l. 19, where read G. W. N.) and the two Kocks. There is a Friedrich Cauer and there is a Paul Cauer and there are two Burys, both Greek scholars, R. G. BURY, the younger, and J. G. BURY, the elder and more terrible. Years ago one brother pitched his tent on the *Xapίτων ἄποικα* of

Pindar and now the younger has staked out a claim on the flowery field of *Plato's Symposium*, both favorite hunting-grounds of my own. There is an interesting contrast in the behavior of the two brothers. The 'intoxication of Pindar's style' seems to have communicated itself to the elder brother, as I pointed out at the time (A. J. P. XI 528). The younger brother has partaken of the *moly* 'that Hermes to the wise Ulysses gave', and the first English edition of the *Symposium* of Plato by R. G. BURY (London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co.) is so sober a performance that it stirs an insane longing for such a commentary as the late Oscar Wilde might well have furnished. What the mortal name of Mr. BURY's *moly* is I do not know. Perhaps it is the *Philebus* with which Mr. BURY employed himself a few years ago. 'Der neueste Herausgeber und gründliche Bearbeiter des Dialogs' says Constantin Ritter of the editor, and I am willing to take Constantin Ritter at his word, for the *Philebus* is no favorite of mine and I have never studied it since I compared my own elaborate analysis with Horn's (A. J. P. XV 92) wondering all the while why Dionysios should have picked out this particular dialogue as a specimen of Plato's simple style. Perhaps a decoction of Rettig, whose esculent name ill fits his commentary, may have cooled the current of Mr. BURY's veins, or he may have been chilled by the close embrace of Hug, traces of whose 'scholarly and useful' and, to my mind, dreary edition are found on every page of Mr. BURY's commentary. But there is a new edition of Hug's *Symposium* by Schöne and further mention will be postponed until I can take up the two together.

I began by citing one guide of my youth, Ritschl. Goethe was a still earlier guide; and one thing that I learned from his 'Wahrheit und Dichtung', which I refuse to call 'Dichtung und Wahrheit', was the sacredness of the proper name. To the end of his days Goethe never forgave Herder the elephantine fun he made of his patronymic, and his illustrious example justified me when I resented, as I shall always resent, being called Gilderstene. I have walked a mile sometimes, sometimes spent an hour in getting an initial straight, and in the strength of my own virtue I have rebuked my fellow-craftsmen for writing Kirchof and Süsemuhl, Boeck and Hoeckh. Years ago I remonstrated with the worthy scholar Holden for playing the piano on the name of Leunclavius and insisted on keeping Le Paulmier and Arthur Palmer apart. Like a recent German cataloguer—shall I write 'catalogger'?—I made *oe* and *ö* a matter of conscience, and whenever I wrote Böckh for Boeckh I did penance; and until Zielinski became the world-wide celebrity that he is to-day, I dutifully put a diacritical mark, a manner of prince's feather over the *n* of his name, but now that would be almost as

great an affectation as to write Napoléon. But I am still solicitous to write Brugman or Brugmann according to the stages of the life of that eminent scholar. How often have I written the name of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and gloried in the consecutive two f's that seem to challenge the world! And now to think that in an article in which I have treated somewhat irreverently the same theme with the master I have allowed the printer to leave off one of the f's (A. J. P. XXXI 143, l. 37) as if I were ignorant of the *fortissimo* significance of the duplication; as if I had never heard the German student phrase 'Aus dem ff'. I am much more grieved about this typographical error than I should be about certain of Professor POSTGATE'S *Flaws in Classical Research*.

H. L. W.: Among the Manuali Hoepli, which cover almost the whole field of human knowledge, there are several that have proved valuable to Classical students and ought to be widely known in America. L. Borsari, for example, gave an excellent summary of the results of Roman topographical studies in his *Topografia Romana* (1897), S. Ricci furnished a useful manual of Latin Epigraphy (1898) on a method quite different from that of Cagnat, D. Cancogni published a well illustrated guide to the Palatine Hill in *Le Rovine del Palatino* (1909), and the history of Greek, Etruscan and Roman art and archaeology by Gentile-Ricci (1901-1905) is by far the best brief account of this whole subject in existence. The present year sees two more Classical books added to the series, namely, *Il teatro antico Greco e Romano* by VIGILIO INAMA and *Epigrafia Cristiana* by ORAZIO MARUCCHI. Professor INAMA discusses in eight chapters such questions as the first theatre, the development of the theatre, theatrical machinery, the *dyōres*, the actors and their number, the audience, besides giving a partial list and some illustrations of the theatres which still exist in more or less ruined condition. In contrast with his rather full account of the development of the drama in Greece is his almost total neglect of dramatic beginnings in Italy and of the history of theatrical performance in Rome. On the whole the author's outlook over things Roman is far too limited and some of the more important recent studies in this field are apparently unknown to him, for example, the work of Mau and Dörpfeld on the large theatre of Pompeii (*Mitt. d. k. d. arch. Inst., röm. Abth.*, 1906, 1-59). In connection with the theatre at Verona, too (p. 86), though he mentions the recent excavations and gives five illustrations from late photographs, he ignores in his bibliography the book of E. Giani, *L'antico teatro di Verona* (1908), giving as authority only the monograph of S. Ricci, which was published in 1895.

Since the death of De Rossi none has been better fitted to deal with the Christian inscriptions than Professor MARUCCHI,

who now gives us this excellent handbook. After a brief statement of some of the elementary principles of Latin epigraphy (pp. 1-34), he devotes the first part of his book (pp. 35-70) to a general introduction which includes a bibliography of the subject. The rest of the volume (pp. 71-450) is taken up by the inscriptions themselves, four hundred and ninety-one in number, classified chiefly from the point of view of their bearing on the church and its doctrines, together with necessary comment and discussion. Thirty good plates complete the volume, which lacks only an index to make it all that could be desired in a handbook of such small compass.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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